

ΠΙΘΑΝΑΛΟΓΙΑ.
OR, A
Perswasive
TO
CONFORMITY
By way of a LETTER
to the Dissenting Brethren.

Si Propheta es prænuntia aliquid, si Apostolus prædica publice. Tertul. de carne Christi. p. 390.

‘Οὐκ ἐν λόγῳ, ἀλλ’ ἐν ἔργοις τὰ τῆς ἡμετέρας θεοσεβείας περὶ γὰρ. Justin martyr ad Græcos, p. 33.


Non de adversario victoriam, sed contra mendacium quærimus veritatem. Jerome adversus Pelagianos, p. 273.

By a Country Minister.

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A

Perfwafive TO CONFORMITY, By way of a LETTER to the dissenting BRETHREN.

CHAP. I. *A Paræneſis.*



Y Brethren! Do not ſtartle, or fly back becauſe I call you ſo: Like thoſe ſeditious, and turbulent Donatiſts, who refus'd to give this ſweet Title of Relation to any, but only to thoſe *Traditores* (as *Optatus* calls them) who were their own Partifans in iniquity, and the miſ-shapen Members of the *African* fraternity, as well as themſelves. I am ſure, we have all one common Father, if we are yet thorow-
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Aperswasive to Conformity.

ly reconcil'd to that Prayer, wherein we call him so. And if we have not the same Mother too, it is not only our guilt, but our shame : For whilst we divide the seamless Coate of Christ ; and every party will have an *Ephod*, and a *Teraphim*, a Church of his own modelling ; we maintain the worst sort of Poligamy in the World, in making Christ to have as many Spouses as ever *Solomon* had Concubines.

And whilst we go about to disown that Mother, or which is worse, scratch her by the face, and call her Whore ; on whose knees we have been dandled, nourished by her breasts, and carried in her womb ; we do but debase our selves into a viperous and spurious Generation.

Methinks I see the Church of *England* wringing her hands ; and hear her complaining against such disobedient Children, or rather Apostatizing *Julians* :

Isa. 1. 2.

Lam. 1. 2.

Hear O Heavens, and give ear O Earth, I have nourished and brought up Children, and they have rebelled against me. My Friends have dealt treacherously with me, they are become mine enemies.

But now I have made you sport enough, in calling the Church our Mother ; And your Profelytes dance after the same pipe : They are never more merry, then when they speak of the Sons and daughters of the Church by way of derision : as if this were a fond, and ridiculous *Solacism*. Into what profuse, and intemperate laughter, have many of you, and them, broke forth in my hearing ? as if your
side

sides would have burst asunder, at the very mention of the Sons and Daughters of the Church. But stay Sirs! Suppress your swelling spleenes, and lets be serious. What you esteem our reproach, that we account our own glory. And if it be vile in your eyes, to be obedient, regular, peaceable, and walking by innocent Canons, we are resolv'd to be more vile yet. It was *Theodosius's* joy, that he was a Member of the Church; and it is ours, not only that we are so, but that we are not erratical, and extravagant in our Motions; every member observing its own office, and station; as all the Servants did, in *Solomons* Family.

Tell me true! is it such an absurdity to be stil'd the Sons and Daughters of the Church? did you never read of the *Sons and daughters of Zion? Of the Daughters of Jerusalem? That Jerusalem which is above, is the Mother of us all.* Which is interpreted by your selves of the true Christian militant Church.

Lam. 4. 2.
Gant. 3. 11.
Luk. 23. 28
Gal. 4. 26.
Heb. 12. 22.

Well then: Maugre all animosities; we are, we will be brother Germans; except you will renounce both God, and his Church. And if we be Brethren, let that name be *Coagulum pacis*, to cement us and soder us together. Let that word hush and charm all our differences; as *Cæsar* by calling the mu'ineers of his Army, *Commilitones! Fellow-Souldiers!* reduc't them to their proper Colours; allaying, and melting their rage. And *Abraham* compos'd that growing discord betwixt himself and *Lot*, by saying unto *Lot*, *Let there be no strife I pray thee, between me and thee, and between*

Gen. 13. 8.

my Herd-men, and thy Herd-men, for we are Brethren. If you shall refuse to lay hold on this right hand of fellowship, which is tendred unto you, by one that woo's you in the name of a Brother, you will say one day with Josephs Brethren, *Verily we are guilty concerning our Brother, in that we would not bear him, when he besought us in the anguish of his Soul.* What a shame is it that Christian Brethren, should be like the off-spring of *Cadmus*; Or those *Romish* Twins, that suck'd the breast of a Wolf; so that one must needs turn the other into a Sacrifice, when a common fire is like to devour us both. Alas! must we like those unhappy Brethren be divided in our very flames? It was not so with *Saul*, and *Jonathan*: For they were lovely, and pleasant in their lives, and in their deaths they were not divided. Where is now the glory of the English Clergy? We were once, *Stupor mundi*, the amazement of the World round about, for Learning, Religion, Love, and Integrity. What cursed spirit is that which is now come amongst us? Nay what devilish vapours are belched out of the infernal pit, to darken, and eclipse our glory? Have we not enemies abroad to grapple withall? But we must spend the remainder of our expiring valour, one upon another? What are we posting on, and declining to our western bed? Hastning our own fatal periods? And digging our own graves?

But what's the matter? Have we so soon forgot our late deliverance out of *Babylon*? Are we no sooner free from the voice of the oppressour? are our fetters no sooner off, but
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we are lifting up our heels one against another. Is it so long since, we *took down our Harps from the willows*? since we were in a dream, and could scarce believe our own eyes, when the Lord turned again the captivity of our *Zion*? Are we already weary of our own liberty? And are we going backward? as if with the male-contented *Israelites*, our delight were to be in *Egypt*; As if like mad-men, we far'd best in the dark. Are our Garlands of Bayes already withered? or turned into mournful Cypress? Our shouting, into howling? our Bon-fires, to firing of Beacons, and Funeral Piles? The clapping, to the wringing of Hands? Is it not far better to be disciplin'd, and aw'd with the rods of a tender Father, then to bleed under the Scorpions of tyrannical Task-masters? Is it not better for us to live under the Empire of a legitimate, and natural Prince, then to lye continually gasping, and dying under the lashes of tyrannical usurpers? And lick up the spittle of some cursed *Dyonisius*? Is it not better to be govern'd by the pastoral staff, of pious and learned Bishops; then to lye under the iron rod of arbitrary Commissioners, ambitious and imperious Tryers? Men that were bounded within no inclosure of Laws, but what their own bias'd wills, invidious prejudices, and canker'd passions, suggested unto them: every one doing that which seem'd good in their own blood-shotten eyes. Are we so soon weary of Manna, Nectar, and Ambrosia? Sure I am, we want nothing to compleat our happiness, but to know it, and to be thankful for it. I can scarce forbear to say; *Blessed are our eyes,*
which

which see the things that we see : And, Blessed are our ears, that hear the things which we hear. How would those faithful souls have rejoiced, for their own, for the Churches, and for their posterities sake, to have seen one of these dayes! I mean those that were hurried out of this life, in the late dismal confusions, before they saw any gleams of that Sun which now shines in our *Horizon* : Nay, we our selves, who have passed that gulf, and are now arriv'd to the Haven of Rest, would have parted with whatever had been most dear unto us ; or run those hazzards which had been most desperate ; that so we might have purchased these mercies, which God hath been pleased to bestow upon us, immediately from his own hand, at a cheaper rate : We could have been contented (some of us, I dare boldly say) to have sung our *Nunc dimittis* with old *Simeon*, could we but from some *Mount Nebo* have discovered the borders of this Land of *Canaan* : And shall we now depreciate and undervalue it ? Shall we repine, and mutter, whilst our mouths are full of Butter and Honey ? When the deluge of waters is abated, and runs within its own channel, would we fain have it return and overwhelm the earth again ? would we again converse with roaring Cannons ? and dance after Drums, and Trumpets ? What do we mean to look such several wayes ? To cast such torvovs aspects one upon another ? As if like *Basilisks*, we would discharge and let fly, even venomous Arrows from our eyes. Why do we speak the language of *Ashdod* ? As if we were the Builders of *Babel*, rather then the *Bezsteels* of the New *Jerusalem*.

lem. The Flocks must needs be divided, the people distracted, when the Shepherds lead them to contrary pastures; and Paul and Barnabas part, and cannot agree which way to go. The Ark of the Church must needs totter, when the Pilots are at variance, and sayle by several Cards: Some fetching their directions from the Stars; and others going by the deceitful Compass of their own imaginations; the slippery Globes of their doting brains. Strange watch-men! to betray the Gates of the City: Unnatural Pastors! to weary the tender Lambs; instead of carrying them in their bosome, and snatching them out of the Lyons mouth---*Quis custodiet ipsos? Custodes?*--That was the work of Harlots, that said, *Let it be neither thine, nor mine,* I Kings 3. 26: *but divide it.* Pompey had more pity and kindness for the City of Rome. Rather then harraß it with civil Wars, he was willing to quit his own claim, and surrender all his interest, unto the dispose of Caesar alone. I am sorry to see Machivels doctrine put in practise amongst you--*Divide, and Reign:* First mud the waters, and then angle for those fish, which will best suit with your palates. Raise a great dust, and then mount your victorious Chariots, or like Juno, escape in a Cloud. Your farewell Sermons have been to me a stone; nay, a whole Rock of offence. How passionately do you there cry up the preciousness of Souls? How do you there proclaim your tenderness, and yerning bowels, even bleeding and melting for the salvation of your people; and yet at the very next instant, desert them, and expose them in Arks of balrushes, to sink or swim on the surges of trouble.

Ab! Potius bello patria. rñ in isto, te Caesar puer esse suam. Luc.

Nehe. 4.
7. 8.

troublefome waters. As if you could kifs, and starve; imbrace, and strangle in the same breath. And if you had left your charges only to your successors, to have born the *heat and burthen of the day*; it had been the more tollerable: and task enough I'll warrant you, to pollish a a knotty Generation, and to have gather'd a scatter'd *Israel*. But how doth this aire wring with the eccho's of lamentable complaints? *Our bellows are burnt in the fire*: Our lungs are consumed. *We have fished all night, and caught nothing*: We would have healed the wounds of the Church; but others keep them from closing. Our webs are ravell'd. *Tobiah and Sanballat* demolish in private, what we build in publick. Just, as most Countryes have their traditions, that Churches have been pulled down in the night, as much as they have been rais'd in the day-time: *The envious man hath done this*. Why do many hang back? Others are cold, in joyn-ing with the devotions of the Church, in pray-ing for mercies, for the averting and remov-ing of judgments. They go to the publick as-ssemblies like the *Cows of Bethshemech*: They go and low, and look back to their calves: whereas we should come together from *Dan to Beersheba*, as one man; in flocks like *Doves*; in droves, like sheep. Alas! like wild beasts; or berries on the Trees, after the gathering of the Summer vintage; here one and there another drops into the Congregation; is this for Gods glory? The Ministers, or peoples comfort? And have they not your example for a pattern? Your assertions for a rule? As if in this you would imitate *Lucifer*; by drawing
mul-

multitudes after you. Is not this the way to bring in Atheism at last like a flood? Shall such religious, holy, popular, and learned men (say the people) forbear the assembly and prayers of the Church; and what would you have us to do? O take heed, you do not entitle your selves to their sins; nor destroy your Brethren with your singular conceits; for whom Christ dyed. Just so it was in Germany when the reformation dawned there, by *Luthers* and *Melanctons* means; there sprang up a Generation, who cry'd down all Church-orders, and by the suggestions of the Devil did hinder its progress. And Saint Paul, makes the same complaint, that when he had a great dore and effectual opened, he had many adversaries. The Angel is now moving our waters: It is but stepping in, and we may be healed of all our maladies; why should you with your niceties, and scruples, affright your brethren from washing in this Jordan? You stand so much upon your modalities, in every administration; that 'tis all one with you to see Zion lye waste, as not to be reared up according to the Idea's of your phantasies. It is all one with you, not to pray, not to receive the Sacrament, as not to perform these according to your prescription: If this be not, what is it to Lord it over mens faith, and over the heritage of the Lord? What else is it, in our Sayiours sense, to call men Fathers upon Earth? Although you do as little agree among your selves in particulars, as you do with us in the main. If Religion should be put into your dress, its fashion would be changed as often, as that of the greatest Gallants, or as the colour of the *Chameleon*. Every

Camerarius in vita. Melanctonis.
p. 45. 46.

1 Cor. 16.
9.

Pa-

Parish would be in a mode by it self. Some of you are utterly against all forms: Some not: yet most of you are against ours. But if any party of you should compose another: the rest would be as unsatisfied with it (as we have seen) as with this: Retire therefore into the withdrawing room of your own hearts: Turn over the leaves of your Consciences: Dismantle all your selfish thoughts; divest your selves of all by-respects: Deal nakedly, and clearly with your own Souls: Then tell me true; nay, tell the people true; whether God may not truly be worshipped with our prayers, and we made happy with the concession and granting of them: Whether the Sacraments are not administered in all their essential parts; and set off in a very lively and quickning manner: Whether the way of Salvation, is not solidly and compleatly set forth in our Congregations. I know not what answer you return to these interrogatories. But had I such a window into your breasts, as the *Grand Signior* is said to have into the *Divano*; I doubt not, but I might see your secret impulses breathing out that acclamation of *Balaam*, *How goodly are thy Tents, O Jacob! and thy Tabernacles O Israel!* However your thoughts run; although you go on to call us ceremonial formalists, men destitute of zeal, the power of Godliness, because we cannot swim down your stream: Yet we will by Gods grace, continue in *Saint Pauls* resolution, *After the way which you call heresie, so will we worship the Lord God of our Fathers.* May not we expostulate with you, in allusion to *Saint Paul*? Are not we Gospel-Ministers? Do not we

Numb. 24.
5.

Acts 24.
14.

we preach the Catholick, Apostolical Faith? Have we any communion with Hæretical, Popish, Tridentine Tenents? Do not we watch over our Flocks, and our Selves? Do you think that we mind not the way to Heaven, as well as you? Why then do you run from us, as *Polycarpe* did from *Cerinthus*? why do you either pull off the peoples Chariot Wheels? or else clogg and scotch them, that they might not run with us in the same Christian race? As if our prayers were Charms, and Conjurations; and we our selves *Monks*, and *Fryars*: Do not (according to the old method) like flies, dwell upon some particular ulcers. As because, some are too negligent in their places, and charges; too loose in their lives; too ignorant in their functions; therefore you will traduce and defame the whole Order aggravating their failings, as if the whole body were over-run with the same Leprosie; passing by those parts which are sound and free from this contagious gangreen. It were no difficulty to recriminate in this kind, and to repay you with the same dirt: If it were any pleasure to scramble in such a puddle. All the scattel of your own herd are not pure from all blemishes. But I had rather wrap my self in the mantle of silence then expatiate in this field. It was an excellent act of *Constantine* to throw into the fire, all those Libels, and Articles of the dissenting Bishops; that they might not stand upon Record, for the eternal infamy of them both. You well know, when Christ chose out twelve, one of them was a devil. And if some amongst us are too defective, the fault must in
part

part lye at your own doors, who have occasioned a sad necessity of supplying your rooms, by some that are none of the best. As a General forsaken by his *Veterani*, or experienced Souldiers, revolting from him, is constrain'd for the present to list such as he can gather together. Can there be any more pleasing musick in the ears of enemies; when it shall be published in *Gath*, and declared in the streets of *Ashkelon*; then that we are crumbling and moultering into pieces of our own accords? That the Centinels have left their watch-Towers; The Pretorian Bands have left their stations? Mount the scaling Ladders who will; those will neithet give warning of, nor these prevent their approaching invasions. A cheap victory sure, and an easie prey we are like to prove, when men in office are resolv'd not to oppose, come *Romans*, come *Gaules*, come Devils: These tame Guardjards will not lift up a standard against them: These tutelar Angels, will not come down their *Jacobs* Ladders, to succour their helpless Brethren, ready to be hurried into captivity: Let wolves come, they will not move their tongues: Let *Amaleck* prevail, they will not so much as lift up a hand towards Heaven. *Aristides* was not so malevolent against his fellow Citizens, although they had banished him by their barbarous Ostracism, yet he left his heart with them: and occasionally too, he stood them in great stead against their Adversaries. In the late times, when the Interdict came forth, That none should have the benefit of the Clergy, but those that would not read: rather then not exercise their ministry, and (as
you

you do) wrap their Talents in a Napkin; to the intent they might stand in the gapp, to stop that torrent of delusions, about to break in upon the *English Church*; with the advise of good *Casuits* (though with much regret) many did submit for a time, to that sad condition, that they might be capable of doing the more good; so much did it pity them, either to leave their Sheep to wander up and down without Shepherds, or, to hearken to the voice of strangers. Nay, should the King, Lords, and Commons, have made a Law (which God avert!) that your darling discipline should be established in *England*: Although they cannot be convinced from Scripture, or Antiquity, that 'tis the best; or from experience, that 'tis most suitable to the constitution and happiness of this Nation: yet rather then discompose the publick peace, and betray the Churches welfare, I dare aver, you should have many of them, that are now at the Stern, tugging at their Oares, and laying their shoulders to the work of the ministry together with you. So far would they have been from suffering their Swords to rust in their Scabbards, and their Breasts to dry up, that they might not afford nourishment, to them that cry after knowledge, and desire the sincere milk of the Word. But now the waters (blessed be God) are sunk within their banks, and our eyes behold our old Landmarks: Yet except the ancient Hedges and Foundations may be pulled up; except the Mountains may be levell'd, and the Cedars rooted out of their places; except the Land may be new measured with your Line, and

Lam. 4. 3.

mounded according to your Plat-form, you will not enter into the Vineyard; but in a sullen fit quit all; and so are worse then the *Sea-Monsters*, *For they draw forth their breasts, and give suck to their young ones.* This is not to deal with us, as we should have dealt with you: Besides, who I pray, you, or we, have shewed the greatest love for Souls? We that passed thorow the fire and water with them, in the worst? Or you that leave them in a calme, in the best of times? I read of *Nazianzen*, *Chrysostome*, and others, that entred the ministerial calling with fear and trembling, and much reluctancy: These were drawn out of their Cells, and haled with violence into the Sacred Mount: Yet having once set their hands to the Plow, no discouragement or persecutions could ever constrain them to look back; But they passed thorow the flames, *thorow good and evil report*; they persevered Praying and Preaching, as if they were ambitious of dying in the Pulpit. Soar as high as you will in your *Seraphick* pretences: Cry as loud as you please, *the Temple of the Lord!* Religion! Religion! Yet who will belcive, but that your eyes are fixt upon some carrion or other. Lets look back into the Annals of our own time, and turn over some few Leaves of that Tragical Hyffory; whereof you were not the smallest part. Where shall we find the fattest gobbets, and *Benjamins* Mefs, but upon your Tables? Who were those that strutted, and fluttered in their feathers, who were fain to go naked themselves? And as for that usurped power, which some of you had grasped into your hands, how magisterially

Nullum sa-
culum fera-
rius Reli-
gionum,
sterilius
pietatis.
Lipsius

ther : which may make up such a bond of peace, that will neither be fretted by the teeth of time, nor be dissolved by men or Devils: As 'tis said of *Melancthon* and *Camerarius* (two Luminaries in the Common-wealth of Learning) that there was such a similitude of Studies, Manners, Wills, confirmed with daily familiarity and converse between them; that they arrived to the very perfection, and quintessence of friendship. If it were so with us, how would this beautifie, and embellish our conversations? Allure some, to silence; dazel or confound others? If we could once sayle together with all our faces towards *Zion*, as if we aimed to put in at the same Port of Heaven; this would sweeten our own lives in the passage, and make us terrible as an Army with Banners, when we shall meet with our enemies in the Gate. How good and joyful a thing is it, for Brethren to dwell together in unity!

Methinks I hear you giving your Assent and Consent to the truth of this conclusion--'Twere well, if there might be such an harmony between us: Yet this is the mischeif, we cannot agree upon the premises, which may infer it; nor find the right way leading thereunto. All men naturally desire felicity (*Balaam* himself would dye the death of the righteous) yet what virtues, or means, are most necessarily conducing thereunto, here there are no small odds, in the manners and tempers of men. Would you hearken to me, I should advise you to obey those that have the rule over you, even for Conscience sake; and to submit to every ordinance of man for the Lords sake. These were Ca-

nonical.

nonical Scriptures some years since, when they were vehemently pressed by some of your selves, to support the power of those men (who right or wrong) had ravish'd it into their hands : Your doctrine now is quite contrary, directly tending to the keeping of our wounds raw, and fresh. Pull down (say you) that Government in the Church, (you would say as much concerning that in the State too, if you durst) which is rooted in the Adamant of Scripture, and the history of the Church, ever since it was Christian. You account the way to a lasting agreement, to lye in removing those apples of contention, those *prohibentia*, which hinder union, and amity. And what are they? disarm the Bishops of their *Crosiers*; Take their *Mitres* from their heads; Dismount their *Cannons*; Give us their *Lands*; and burn your *Common-Prayer-Books*. But speak more plain English yet: Is not this your sense? If you desire our assistance, and copartnership in the work of the ministry, You must take us to be your guides, for we cannot endure any Superiours: Take the imposition of our hands, as the current stamp of your callings: use no prayers, but what you shall be directed from our Conclave: Read not the ancient Fathers of the Greek and Latin Church, for they will poyson, and possess you with an high conceit of Episcopacy: But study *Smectymnus* thoroughly: Learn the method of Preaching from Doctor Goodwin; Submit your selves to the Scrutiny and Tryal of Doctor Manton, and Master Nye, whether you be truly gracious: Satisfie them of the time and manner of your conversion, and upon these termes we'll ascend our Pulpits again, and

condescend to assume you into our fellowship. I wish this were but an Histrionical Harangue, personating some Inhabitants in Utopia, or the new Atlantis, and that there were no such innovators, or strange Minotaurs to be found among the natives of old England: But sure we find the print of their footsteps in former times: We have been so torn with their sharp teeth, which lay conceal'd (like those of vipers) in fine, soft flesh, that we are scarce well recover'd to this day: We start in our sleep, as if we were still haunted with their Ghosts. The noise of their furious Chariots, and the eccho's of their thundering lashes, are still in our ears: And though they are now charm'd and limited, look downward, and speak pitifully, as if thorowly mortified, yet we tremble at their very shadows, lest their stark joynts should recover their former activity. If this seems too severe, and satyrical, for an ἐπιτίμησις, where mutual kindness, and a peaceable accommodation is the white in the Butt, even the main design of this attempt: I will assure you, so far as I am conscious of my own heart, there's no gaul within, no bitterness to your persons: The doors of my heart are wide open, and my arms expanded to receive you: Only I desire, ἀγασσωμεν, to inflame, and stir up those gifts and graces, which are in you, and also modifie and regulate them, that you may lay them forth for the promoting, not the retarding of our Masters service: the warming and cherishing, not burning, and wasting such as you converse withall. And if I touch upon any of your ulcers by the way, it is not to reproach you, but to heal them. I would

would have these lines, like precious balm, not to break your heads, but to revive, and wake you out of a slumber. What though the *Chyrurgion* be blamed at first, for being cruel, in searching to the bottom of a wound; yet he aims at nothing, but the healing and recovering his querulous patient. The good *Samaritan* in the Gospel, did not only pour in *Oyl* into the gashes of the wounded man, to supple them, but *Wine* too, which is of a searching nature, to make them smart. And such dealing in the close, I hope will rather merit your gratitude, then your frowns. *He that rebuketh a man, afterwards shall find more favour, then he that flatterereth with his tongue.* Could I but dis-intangle, and expedite you out of those Meanders and Labyrinths, wherein you have lost your selves: Could I but satisfie your doubts, or rather scruples, wherewith you perplex your selves, and the Church: I should glory more in such an achievement, then *Cesar* did in all his Trophies. However, though I fail, 'tis something to enterprise such an Heroical act, though his chair is in Heaven, that can accomplish it. Who knows but that little *David* may do more execution with his sling, then better champions with their compleat Artillery? Why may not a child lead those *Leopards*, and *Lyons*, which have escaped from the greatest Gyants? having more confidence therefore in the propitious influence of Gods Spirit, & the goodness of the cause, then in my own strength, I shall endeavour to rebate the edge of those discouragements which you object to your self; and lay those Goblins wherewith you are affrighted: And then, by an hearty *Parænesis* accompanied

Prov. 8.
23.

Aliud officium, aliud finis: aliud cura, aliud curatio.

accompanied with the best motives I can find, interwoven throughout, which is *primum in intentione*. I shall excite you to *gird on your Sword upon your thigh* (I mean that of the Spirit) and to *ride on prosperously*, in the peaceable works of the ministry. If I meet with the fate of Reconcilers (*οἱ ἀκρῶς ἐξ ἑνὸς κτείνοντα*) who are beaten on both sides, I shall acquiesce in this; that neither the Gale of preferment, nor the desire of Ambition, did ever carry on, or leaven this undertaking. Therefore only having on the *breast-plate of righteousness*, and wing'd with the integrity of Conscience, I shall venture through the throngs of calumnies and detractions which shall haunt me in my way; and say with *Antisthenes* to railing Plato, *This is to resemble Kings; to do well, yet to suffer reproach for ones labour.*

Βασιλεὺς
 ἄλλως ποί-
 ῶντα καὶ ὡς
 ἀκούειν.

Laert. in
 vita Anti-
 sthenes,
 p. 367.

CHAP. II.

The height of the Bishops, no reason to keep you from Conformity.

YOU say the Bishops are lofty, and enemies to godliness. Take heed Sirs, least whilst ye Rom. 3. 8. speak against *Swearing*, ye be guilty of *Blasphemy*. And whilst ye Rom. 2. 22. abhor Idols, ye commit *Sacrilege*, in speaking evil of dignities, and plundering the Ark of its most precious Jewels, by staining the Honor, and fallying the names of those that support it. Methinks you should tremble at that expostulation of the Lord with *Aaron* and *Miriam*; were ye not afraid to speak Numb. 12. 8. against my *Servant Moses*? Now *Moses*, was Deut. 33. 5 not only *King* in *Jesurun*, but a *Priest* too as Naz. orat. well as *Aaron*, Psal. 95. 6. *Ἰσὼς ὁ κτίων ἀνθρώπων ὁ βασιλεὺς, νομοδότης, καὶ ἀρχιερεὺς.* Ad Ephes. p. 28. Nay, *Philo Judæus* in the life of *Moses*, calls him a *King*, a *Law-giver*, and an *High-Priest*. I hope you will allow Fathers some preheminance above their Children: Such as rule and are commissioned with Jurisdiction, beyond those that must *imperata capeffere*, obey their just commands, or as *Ignatius* expresseth it, Συγγέχων τῇ τῷ ἐπισκοπῇ γνάμῃ, conform themselves to the judgment and discretion of the Bishops. Should these Fathers expose their Persons and Power unto contempt, by rendering either of them (by too much familiarity) cheap and common; this would rather betray and prostitute, then grace and illustrate their

cal-

In the life
of Pelopi-
dus.

Plutarch.
p. 523.

ἡ ἀποστολή
ἐν ἀποκρίσει.
Philos. Jud.
de opificiis
mundi.

calling; this would also make us too pragmatical and saucy, instead of paying that just tribute of duty, and reverence, which is their hereditary right, and inseparable prerogative. You will not call it pride, but a necessary majestick-state in the *Major* and *Aldermen* of the City, if they do not play at Foot-ball with the Apprentices in the streets. Nor will you say a School-Master is ambitious, but discreet, if he keep a distance with his Scholars, and forbear to play with their Cherry-stones. And must those that are in the high places of the Church, be branded with pride, if they do not presently degrade themselves, and abandon all badges of superiority, wherewith they are invested by God, and the King? And distinguish'd from those that are *minorum gentium*, or have their Province in the Valleys? As a General on whose life the welfare of an Army depends, must not be prodigal of his own safety. He in *Plutarch*, said he was ashamed, that he should come into so much danger, as that a dart should fall near him: This was not cowardise, but a courageous prudence. *Lysander* did but disgrace himself, and prejudice the *Grecians*, by running his head against the walls of *Aliarte*: So the impairing of the Bishops power and lessening their honour, is nothing else, but our loss: If the whole body were an eye, where were the bearing? and if a numerous Army should consist altogether of Commanders, or have none at all, what a confused rout would it prove to be? Like a multitude of ciphers, without any Numerical letter before them. Just so the Church would be but a rude mass, if there were no overseers

seers to put it into some comly shape, and awful posture: A paralytick body, if without nerves, to convey the spirits, and keep the parts together. I read of no creatures in the whole volumn of nature, but they are headed with some imperial Leaders, under whose conduct they are marshal'd, and repay them with an obsequious admiration, and a devout kind of trembling; except the *Locusts*; And these indeed, *Solomon* sayes *have no King*. I presume, you have read, who those were, that did much resemble them. *What have Christians to do* (said they with an impudent mouth) *with Kings? et quid Episcopis cum palatio? Why do Bishops live in ceiled houses, and build their nests on high? If any of you are ignorant who these were, I'll inform you: They were the furious and factious disciples of Donatus. And if you have (perhaps) some kinder resentments, for these more innocent Hereticks, Can you chuse but quake, to see your own faces in the mirror of those——that durst expostulate with Moses and Aaron, just as ye do. Wherefore do ye lift up your selves above the Congregation of the Lord? Take heed, lest whilst you disdain to draw in the same yoke with us, you be guilty of a worse Syncretism, in being conformable to Core, and his company; is not this to act the part of cursed Cham over again? Are not these malignant looks upon your Governours, the relicks of Adams aspiring Ambition? a spice of that lawless Law in your members, and a tang of that scornfulness, which fell from heaven with the lapsed Angels.*

Prov. 30.
27.

Numb. 16.
3.

*Natura tam-
to magis
superba,
quanto ma-
gis
dominio
peccati,
mortis sub-
jecta ful-
gent.*

*Plutarchin
the life of
Sylla.*

Of all men, you have the least cause to draw up this black bill of indictment against the Bishops; if you would call to mind, with what condescension they have treated with you, in order to the satisfaction of your scruples; in what a fatherly and pathetical manner, they have intreated you to continue in your places; untill they have not only *wept in secret*, but even in publick view; their tears have started out of their eyes: And do you thus requite them, O ingrateful men, and unwise! 'Tis reported of Sylla, that whilst he was venturing his life, in several Battels for the good of his Country, at that very time his Wife was driven out of Rome, his Houses overthrown, and his Friends slain. Just so when these Worthies lay under an unlucky Ostracism, they were contriving our good, and disputing for our Religion. And when God, in a miraculous manner, raised up these *dead bones*; they were so far from vindictive passions, that so long as there were any hopes of prevailing, they ceased not to beseech and woe you, to partake in the harvest of their indefatigable labours, in a peaceable submission to the Ordinances of God: As if they had forgot, who they were that voted their proscription; and (with the Emperour) could remember all things, saving injuries. And are these so lofty as you represent them? Rub your own eyes, perhaps the fault may be rather in the Organ, then in the Object. 'Tis possible, your apprehensions of them, may arise from some predominant humour in your selves. As Diogenes trampled on Plato's bed; *sed fastu majori*: And the old Romans denominated Tarquinus proud, *quia Regios ejus fastus, aliâ superbiâ*

ferebant; because they were so proud themselves, that they could not endure any Kingly State in their Monarch. To hear you to cry out of other mens pride, is all one; as to hear the *Gracchi*, complaining of sedition, or to hear *Catalin* calling *Cetbegus*, *Traitour*. I pray tell me, why there are so many *Heteroclites* or *Anamola* in the Church; and who are they, walking without the compass of any rule; who they are, who have raised and fomented so many schisms and divisions amongst us. And I will tell you from the mouth of *Saint Paul* in the general, from whence they arise; that is, from the flesh. Whereas there is among you envying, strife, divisions, are ye not carnal? *Hooker* goes a step further, and tells you in particular, that they arise from pride: Naming pride (sayes he) we name the Mother that brought them forth, and the nurse that feedeth them. It is not enough (as he goes on) to make shew of a demure humility: for a foul scar may be covered with a fair cloth: And such as are as proud as *Lucifer*, may be in outward appearance lowly.

Aust. de Civ. Dei. Lib. 7. Cap. 15.

I Co. 3. 3. P. 530. 531.

Give me leave to give an instance of my own experience; and that's a very convincing Mistress. I was once tempted to go to the Tryars; then whom, never was *Junco* of men more high, scornful, overlooking, and brow-beating their poor clients: As if we had scarce been made out of the same mettall with themselves: As if they had been the only Seraphick, and Angelical Doctors; but we, a company of lumpish, and phlegmatick pedants, poor Grashoppers, scarce worthy to come into their presence. And if we did so; which was not ealie without long attendance

Numb. 13. 33.

tendance; what distances did we keep? How were we fain to observe their eminencies? And look, what informers, and confederates, they had in the Country; these were also blown up with the same elation of spirit; so that 'tis easie to guess what humble, and meek spirited men we should have met withall, had Gods anger still continued us under your yoke. It was but time for such conceited Rabbies, and strutting Mountebanks to disappear, who by soaring too high, had put out their own eyes; and to leave their usurped charges, to more sober, and better poysed *Raphaels*. And though some of them are naturally alive; yet because I hope mine eyes shall never see them again in that capacity, I shall write out the same Epitaph for them, as the Hystorian set upon *Nero*, ——— *Sua immanitas, sua superbia, Cervicibus publicis depulere.*

Tacitus
Hist. I

And since I would fain thaw your congealed hearts and melt them into a better opinion of these reverend Fathers, which now sit at the stern, Consider I beseech you (though 'tis common with you to reproach them with Popery) that we are indebted unto them (next unto God, and the King) for the free exercise of that reformed Religion which we profess: For as their Predecessors have been the best Champions, and the most impregnable Bulworks against the *Romish* emissaries; so they themselves (to shew they are no degenerate off-spring) have of late stood in the gap against the incursions of the same assailants. Give me leave to refresh your memories with matter of fact; for I fear they are too slippery to retain, what does so evidently, so justly redound to their immortal honour; and

and when I have done, for shame, tell the people no more that they are antichristian, when you have a purpose to dress them up in such barbarous skins, that they may with the more ease, fall a sacrifice to their fury.

When in a session of this very Parliament, it was urged with no small vehemency, backed with the intercessions and interests of great personages-----that the *Roman-Catholick* Religion, might be freely tolerated in these Dominions, (and if the Serpent had thus wound in his head, it is easie to divine what would follow) when some began to warp, others to stagger, and some *Barnabas's* had like to have been carried away with this torrent; as if they thought it but reasonable, that such as had been men of fidelity and courage heretofore, should now receive this donative, and reap this harvest of a *Toleration*. Then stood up these *Phinehas's*, and partly by their obsecrations to his sacred Majesty, partly by their convincing and nervous arguments in publick, they dashed this coocatrice, when it was ready to peep out of the shell. Thus did these Heroes obviate and frustrate this black but plausible design. *Ringantur! Rumpantur!* let their enemies swell with their own poyson, until like *Judas* they burst asunder: Let *Simeon* and *Rabshakeh* raile, These Angels of the Churches will not turn aside out of the way of truth but will still go on asserting the ancient, and Catholick doctrines against those that oppose them. These Stars are fixt in their Orbs (not erratical or falling) keeping their direct and even motions, *Bark* who will at their constant regularity: and in so doing, may they ever be kept

Anahims.

Gent. 49.
23, 24

Numb. 22.
18. §

Camerari-
us in vita
Melanct.
P. 110.

kept in Gods right hand; may their bow
abide in strength, and the hands of their Arms
be made strong, by the hands of the mighty God of
Jacob: Though the Archers have sorely grieved
them, shot at them, and bated them: Though Ba-
lak would give them his house full of Silver and
Gold, may they never go beyond the word of
the Lord their God, to do less or more. Let
their resolution, be that of stout Melancton, to
the Prince of Hassia's Ambassadour, offering
Prolix promises, if he would espouse his ma-
sters controversies, saying, No earthly things,
should ever alter his purpose, in what he was al-
ready satisfied.

CHAP. III.

Animadversions upon some passages in a Book Intituled Solomons prescription for removing the Pestilence.

I Have read a Treatise of yours, called *Solomons prescription for removing the Pestilence*. I call it yours, because the Author professes himself one of your number; and he seems to express the sense of your aggregate body. Like a *Physitian of value*, he searcheth into the causes procuring the *Plague*; and to that end, he musters up a black catalogue of---*Swearing, Drunkenness, Uncleanness, Pride*, which I will freely grant, and with a sad heart, confess, are too rife in our dayes: Yet I abhor that imputation of unfaithfulness, which he charges upon us in that Book, who continue in the exercise of our callings, as if we did not open our mouths against some of those sins, in our Sermons; and so by our traiterous and silent connivance they are encouraged and gather strength. It is time the Land should vomit us forth; if we were such Pandours and Brokers for sin, if we saw such pillows under sinners elbows, or dawbe with such untempered mortar. Sirs, leave this sick of strenuous calumnies; to the intent, some spots of dirt may at least stick upon your Brethren. I say the truth in Christ, I lye not, my Conscience also bearing me witness; we desire (many of us) to spend, and to be spent, in telling Israel

Numb. 16.
47.

Eluarch

of her sins, and Judah of her transgressions. Neither does this Author shew himself an Interpreter, one of a thousand, declaring the whole counsel of God: For he deals very partially, concerning the integral and adæquate causes of the Pestilence: There were other sins which should have been enumerated in this case, had they not been in the other end of the wallet; as *Perjury in violating the Oaths of God, Allegiance, Supremacy, and that of Canonical Obedience; Bloodshed, Censorious condemning and traducing one another, Schism and Rebellion;* which have a most direct influence and causality upon the Plague: Are these sins of the growth of some forraign Countries? Had you consulted Scripture Oracles, these plump *Amalekites*, these *Agag*-sins should have been brought forth, and fallen a Sacrifice, in order to the appeasing the wrath of God, and removing the Pestilence: For my own part, I never look we should be free from this, or some other Plague, untill without palliating, shifting, reserving, and mincing our darling sins, we can all take shame and confusion to our selves: If we still think to hide these deformed brats, these stinging *Scorpions* in our own bosomes, (as that *Lacedemonian* did the Fox he had stolen, for fear of discovering) they will never leave gnawing at our very bowels. It is but a pernicious and desperate modesty, to cover those vipers which at last will suck our very heart blood. But to go on with our Author: He tells us at long-running (which is the scope of the whole Book) what is the principal cause of the Plague; and that is, his and your silence; or, your not Preaching.

Preaching the Gospel: The more shame for you then, that you will not open your mouthes in Prayer and Preaching, to deliver us from such a judgment: You are worse then *Crasus* his Son; for though he was born dumb, yet seeing one about to kill his Father, he burst the strings of his tongue, and cryed out, *will ye kill my Father?* yet you can see your Brethren fall by thousands, and never go about to break your obstinate silence; nor throw away those with's, (as *Sampson* did when the *Philistines* were upon him) wherewith ye have bound up your own tongues.

Well! give me leave to tell you what Christ said to his drowsie Disciples, Fast, Pray, Preach hereafter, lest ye your selves be swallowed up by this, or some other Plague.

I but say you, the fault is not in us, but in the Government; and that we may not be in suspence, what is your meaning, this Author charges all upon the Bishops. *page 62.*---this is plain dealing. But why upon the Bishops? Must they be our *scape-Goat*, to carry all our sins on their backs? or must they be our *expiation*, a lustration, or expiation, for those curses which are due unto us all? Can they make and impose Laws? Were the Liturgy, Canons, and other decrees established by their Authority alone? Do not we own the King Supream upon earth? Have not the Laws the superscription and stamp of his Royal Assent? Are they not the product (not as your Covenant) of a part, but the whole Parliament, King, Lords and Commons? And yet by a wilful kind of Sophistry you are still casting all the *Odium* (as you

intend it) upon the Bishops; who are but the
 Heb 3. 2. Trustees, to see the execution of those Laws.
 Therefore as *Moses was faithfull to him that appointed him, in all things concerning the Lord's House*; so these *Aarons* must be men of fidelity, in discharging that trust, which is reposed in them, by the supream Authority of this Kingdome, concerning the affairs of the Church, according to the pattern which they have received in the Mount; I mean, from the *Legislative* power of the Land. Indeed should they coyn Articles of Faith (like that *Romish Dictator*) and impose them upon the Church, then there were just cause of complaint. But whilst (like *Ahasuerus*) they only inquire, *what they may do according to law*, to those that break the Commands of the King; take heed, lest whilst you level your darts at them, you hit the Throne.

But why do you impute the Plague unto the
 Esth. 1. 15. Bishops? Doth this savour of a Christian spirit? I had thought, that in general calamities, every man should have laid his hands upon his own heart, and suspect himself to be that *Achan that troubles the Camp*, that *Jonah* which occasions the storm; and say with the Apostles (though innocent) *Master, is it I?* And not like *Solomons Harlot*, *wipe our mouths*, or with guilty *Ahab*, lay the fault of troubling *Israel*, on good *Elijah*. Will you still be the worser sort of *Conformists*, resembling the murmuring *Israelites* if any thing went amiss with them? If they wanted water, or meat for their lusts, then *Moses* was in all the fault, in bringing them from the flesh-pots of *Egypt*. Will you needs conform your selves to those idolaters, that
 looked

looked upon them that reclaim'd them from offering incense to the Queen of Heaven, to be the cause of the Sword, and Famine? or those Heathens, that sent the Christians to the Lyons, if *Nilus* did not swell high enough, to make their fields fruitful, or if their Legions miscarried in the Field. So unhappy are our Fathers, if their teeth must be set on edge as oft as the people eat *sour Grapes*. This will make their backs crack, (though made of steel) if every mans burthen must be laid on their shoulders; they are objects of pity, rather then envy, if our faults must be whipt on them, and they must be piacular oblations for us. Good Sirs! learn more candour, morality, justice, and charity hereafter, and see that ye speak every man the truth to his neighbour. Some of you have so blackened these reverend Fathers, and put them into such a strange and monstrous drefs, by calling them the *Members of the great Whore, of the Beast of Babylon, Idolaters, Haters of God, and Godliness, the very mystery of iniquity, and those principalities, and powers, which Christ came to cast down*, or as this Scribe does more then insinuate, *page 53. Esteeming Ceremonies above Souls*. That I dare boldly aver, that some of the seduced Herd, who are ignorant of their Integrity, care of the Churches, bounty, publick spirits, Piety, and Loyalty, do scarce believe them to be men, or if so, yet, that they are some terrible *Cannibals*, that came out of some strange Land. I was (not long since) desir'd to Preach to a Congregation, that had been instructed by one of your selves. A

Numb. 13.
33.

Gal. 5. 20.
Calvin
Epist. 3.

Gentleman told a Country-man there after Sermon, that his Son was an hopeful youth, and might in time be a Bishop: The man startled presently with fear, or indignation, I know not whether, saying, God-forbid that ever my Child should be a Bishop. Sure this man thought his Child should be transformed into some strange shape. Have been converted into an *Egyptian Mammaluke*, or paid as a tribute-Child to the Grand Signior, and so have been brought up in the *Mahumetan* Religion, and made a *Janizary* to that Emperour. Thus the spies, to the intent they might disgrace the Land of *Canaan*, said, *The Land did eat up the Inhabitants thereof*. And in our remembrance, even at the beginning of these late times, some malicious Poets told the World, that the Royalists eat up Children, and train'd their Horses under ground, &c. Can such weapons prosper, as are sharpned at the Forges of the *Philistines*? Can such Champions hope for success, that *go down into Egypt for help*? Cutting and lancing with lyes, as with sharp Razors: Is there no way to undermine the sacred order of Bishops, but by digging as low as Hell; in slandering the footsteps, and traducing the Persons and Government of those servants of the Lord, of whom this treacherous World is not worthy. If this be your zeal, it never came down from Heaven, but it is a meer work of the flesh; it is such a zeal (*quo nunquam arsit Elias*) which never inflamed the hearts of Gods faithful servants. There were just such zealots indeed in *Jerusalem*

a little before its Conquest by the *Romans*:
And I wish you may not shew your selves
to be their off-spring, and so become as
ominous to us, in ringing the knell of our
Native Country.

CHAP.

C H A P. IV.

*Subordination of Presbyters to Bishops :
and the Honorary Title of Lords gi-
ven to the Bishops, are no just
impediments to Conformity.*

YOU are not a little troubled, that you must truckle under Bishops : Nor will you own any such distinction betwixt you and them. Whence this ariseth (as to the sublimity of your spirits) I have touched upon before. I desire still to be serviceable unto you, by removing and dispelling such clouds, which interpose their gross bodies betwixt you and us. It is not my business to dispute this Polemical Article at large, which my betters have done so fully, that there is nothing to be gleaned after them : *What can be do that comes after the King?* Their Arguments stand like a firm Mountain against the popping squibs of all *Arrius's* Disciples. Only let me reason with you in a word or too, according to my own observation, and reading. Was not *Aaron* above the Priests, *Levites*, *Nethenims*? Were there not *Archiflamines* amongst the *Romans*, by the very light of nature? Were not the Disciples (think ye) inferiour to the Apostles? Were not the Ministers in *Ephesus* and *Creet*, subordinate to *Timothy* and *Titus*? What think you of the superintendants in the *Lutheran Churches*, of the leading Presbyters in *Geneva*, and
here

here at home? Did they go so equally, hand in hand with their Brethren, without advancing one step before them? Neither do the Bishops challenge any preheminance above you or us in Preaching the Gospel, or administration of the Sacraments; but only as to Acts of Jurisdiction and Ordination: And what order would be in the Church without these? As for the History of the Church; that there was such a distinction (if my Books be Authentick) even in the purest times, I am abundantly confirm'd. And it hath been the subject of my admiration; that those amongst you, who have more then ordinary familiarity with antiquity, should yet boggle at this concession. If you would permit me to be your remembrancer I would lay before you these few Testimonies.

Ignatius ad Magnes. p. 35.

Tertul. de Baptismo. p. 280.

Cle. Alexand. Strom. 6. p. 667.

Cyrillus p. 209.

Austin de Civis. dei, lib. 22. cap. 8.

Jerom ad Evagrium & Heliodorum, vindicated from the exceptions of

Blondel and Salmasius, by that

μαρτυρία Dr Hammond.

Calvin, Beza, with other modern writers of great credit, who are commonly look'd upon as adversaries to Episcopacy; yet speak most softly and favourably of the English Bishops.

But could you submit to the Bishops as your
Su-

Superiours, yet you will by no means admit of their Titles of Lords: This is (say some of you taking Gods name in vain, in perverting the genuine sense of Scripture) to Lord it over the Lords Heritage: This is expressly contrary to Gods command, telling his Apostles that it should *not be so amongst them*. Yet methinks, if we can agree in the main, concerning a gradation, *sub & supra*, in the Church, we should not differ about a word: Especially since the Authority, and divine right of Scripture, is not herein pretended, but only the indulgence of Princes. He that makes others Knights and Earls, hath the same power sure, to make these Lords. But see your own unhappiness again, whilst you sling at the Mitre, you hit the Crown, and pierce the purple Robe: As much as in you lies, you abridge the Kings prerogative, in conferring Titles of Honour upon whom he pleases, unless your suffrages be first procur'd. The fountain of Honour must be dried up, rather then empty it self into any Rivulets, but where you shall direct them. How came that very same spirit of contradiction into you, which was in those male-contents of *Scotland*? If the King there, either went an Hunting, or kept a Feastival day, without their approbation, presently the Pulpits must ring with Anathemas against him. If those that are eminent in the studies of the Laws, or men of heroical and valiant achievements in war, be dignified with the chaplet of Honor, they will permit them to wear those Crowns, which they have purchased by their own merits: But if those that excel in the study of divine learning, by their Princes favour,

be accordingly advanc't, what squint eyes are cast upon them? then you grudge with *Judas*, at this expence of princely bounty, and are as far from congratulating their preferment, as you are from equalling their endowments. The very Heathens thought their Priests capable of being Kings; so that both offices met in the same person. And *Solomon* accounted it no disparagement, that he was *Eccelesiastes*, *The Preacher in Jerusalem*. How many great Princes are there in the World at this day, who are Bishops by their callings? Yet you are more violent against the innocent Rochets of reformed Bishops, then at the Caps of *Romish* Cardinals, though of a sanguine complexion: Were they all *Prefter-John's*, they would not be so much exposed to your anger.

Rex Anius
Rex idem
hominum,
phæbig;
Sacerdos.

When a *Saracen* King came to the Court of *France*, with an intent to turn Christian; he was so much scandaliz'd at the poor and ragged condition of the Kings Chaplains, that he went away as very an Heathen as ^{he} came. The best Christian Emperours thought it a most compendious way, to make Religion to flourish; by gracing and crediting Bishops. *Constantine* set them at his own Table; and wherever he went, they were his companions. *Theodosius* and *Valentinian* shew'd the same respect to those that were most eminent in the Church. No man more welcom to them, then the Bishop of *Millane*. Nay, to gain the more respect among the people, many controversies 'twixt men and men, were devolv'd to their decision: And it was lawful, even to appeal from the Emperour to the Bishop: May not this be the reason, that the

French
History in
the life of
Charle-
maign

Euseb. p.
127.
Gracan-
thorp's
defence of
Constan-
tine, p. 44.
&c.
Theodor.
l. 4. p. 5.
Zozam. l. 1.
c. 9.

Scriptures

Auf.
Epist. 147.

Scriptures adorn them with such transcendent Names; *Embassadours of Christ, Stewards of the mysteries of God, Rulers of Gods Family, Stars, Angels, Gods?* yet we are so infatuated with ignorance, or distorted with malice, that we can neither see the advantages which accrues to the Church by their advancement, nor perceive how this tends to our own benefit and renown. Is it not for our good that they sit in Parliament? That they are vigilant and provident there, as our Representatives, both to prevent what may be prejudicial to us, and also to interpose and move in our behalf: Is it not for our honour, that they are thus exalted, who were taken out of our selves? May not this shield off some of that contempt, which the people are apt to cast upon us? and if we be injur'd, and oppress'd, is it not for a consolation, that we have such heads of our Tribes, such Fathers of our Family, into whose bosome we may empty our complaints, who will be as ready to receive as to hear us. And if our grievances are above the sphere of their own activity, yet they can appeal to higher authorities; when such little ones as we are, can scarce be admitted.

Mat. 20.
 25, 26.
Luke 22.
 25.

For all this you cannot digest their Titles of Lords; This savours (say you) too much of a temporary Kingdom upon earth, which our Saviour does upon all occasions renounce; *This is to bear rule like the Princes of the Gentiles.* Thus you run away with this Text like Lapwings with shells upon your heads, as if 'twere not possible to overtake you. And you think your selves so deeply intrench't in the authority of this Scripture,

ture, as if it were impossible to beat you out of this fortress: yet lets spend some second thoughts upon it; and search it with a narrower eye: 'Tis true, our Saviour prohibits all affectation of honour among his Apostles, he would not have them strive after greatness; but to be serviceable to the meanest, that they may win all sorts of persons, by their humility. *Dominatio interdicatur, judicatur ministratio.* They must not hunt after dominion, but like the Angels they must be *ministring Spirits*. Yet that there should be no prerogative and preheminance one above another, this is not forbidden at all in that place. Indeed Christ would not have his Apostles to have any violent, or compulsive jurisdiction over their Brethren in exercising the power of the Sword: He would have them to leave that to temporal Princes. Therefore 'tis said, *it shall not be so among you*, that is, as it is with civill Magistrates, Princes of the Gentiles, punishing offenders with corporal stripes. And accordingly our Bishops meddle not with criminal matters; but as I am inform'd, they go forth of the Parliament house, when sentence of death is pronounced against Malefactours.

You might as well conclude that no men should be called *Masters, Fathers, Lords*, because the Scripture sayes — *Be not called Masters.* — *Call no man Father upon Earth:* — *There is but one Lord Jesus Christ.* But this word *Lord*, is taken in a latitude of interpretation; It carries with it, respect and superiority. Rebecca did so respect and reverence Abrahams servant, that she sayes, *drink my Lord.* Sarah called

1 King. 18.
2 King. 2.

Ambrosius
de dig.
Sacer. c 3.

Bishop
Bilson, of
the perpe-
tual Go-
vernment
of the
Church.
p. 63.

called *Abraham Lord. Elias* a Prophet is so called — *my Lord Elias* — so is *Elizens* too. There is honour, nay double honour due to those that wait at the Altar; therefore (methinks) we may signifie that honour in our expressions: If we must honour them with our hearts, why not with our lips? since *Nihil sublimius Episcopis*. No calling is more sublime then that of the Bishops. I conclude this return with the very words of that excellent Bishop of *Winchester*: *God is my witness, I smooth no mans pride, I seek no mans favour; I read as sincerely as my simple learning will suffer me; I see no reason why it should trouble any godly mind, to hear a Bishop called by that name, with which Saint Peter wil- leth every woman to honour her Husband.*

CHAP. V.

*An Answer to that popular clamour.--
Godly meetings are disturb'd, and
Papists favour'd.*

IT is no small rub in your way, to hinder your advance towards us, and does not a little open your mouthes against your Governours, that you cannot be quiet, in your private meetings, but you are ferreted and disturb'd by the secular power; so that Papists, and drunkards, are not so narrowly observed in their extravagancies, as you are in the true worship of God.

Ad populum Pha'eras! This Topick does you much service; whereby you perswade the credulous multitude that you suffer a great deal of wrong; this is oppression and persecution in grain. What must godly, sober, conscionable Ministers be more severely dealt withal, then those that sing Dirges, and say Mass? Then those that flock to those seminaries of misdemeanours, Alehouses and Taverns? Far be it from me; from being patron or advocate for either of these; better my tongue should cleave to the roof of my mouth. Yet comparatively, and *x^o vii* compose your countenances, untill I come to a full period) I mean, in point of obedience to Government, and so in respect of publick peace, and tranquility., I wish it may not be truly said, that these very persons against
whom

- whom you so bitterly declaim, and sharpen all your invectives, overwhelming them with showers of stones from your slings, as if none were sinners but they, were not less dangerous to the welfare of the Kingdom, then those reputed Godly men, who with a sullen kind of sobriety (like him in the Hyksorian) go about to destroy the common wealth? Sober men did I call them? Then who are those pernicious drunkards, of whom the Prophet speaks; who are *drunk, but not with wine*: Drunk with malice and revenge, and drench'd in such furious passions, that like *Etna* they belch forth nothing but flames. There are some unclean spirits that walk in dry places, *Matth. 12. 43*. Now if spiritual sins are worser then carnal, as partaking more of the will and the whole soul, certainly this drunkenness which throws fire-brands into the roof of Government, and longs to wallow in the ashes of a Kingdom, is worser then his that rowles in his own vomit: This degrades us below bruit beasts; and that equals us to the very devils: This hath more scandal before men but that hath more guilt in the sight of God. Such as these may in time be brought to repentance, but those are commonly hardned in their impiety: that as Christ told the Priests and Elders, that *Publicans* and *Harlots* should go into the Kingdom of Heaven before them; so 'tis easier to teach these prophane wretches, their duty to their Prince, and convince them of their exorbitant carriage, then it is to turn those about, whose webs are finer spun, and their fardels wrapt up in *Elijah's* Mantle. I hope you will not call this *pleading for Baal*, and arguing for de-

debauchery, no more then Saint *James* pleaded for Devils, when he sayes they beleive and tremble; or our Saviour, for Heathenism, when he prefers the condition of *Tyre* and *Sidon*, before that of *Chorazin*, and *Bethsaida*. A Serpent is a Serpent still; though in some respect, that is, in looking to his head, he is the emblem of wisdom.

But as the Moralities of *Pagans*, and honest dealings of *Turks*, do but aggravate the vices, and cheatings of Christians, and will rise up in judgment against them: So that loyalty which is in profane persons, doth the more condemn that disobedience, which is in men professing Religion. Are not you ashamed to violate the commands of Authority, when Swearers, and Drunkards are zealous for them; and herein it is, to wit, in what is good, that they deserve both favour and encouragement. I pray study *Metaphysiks* better, and do not confound and jumble together the notions of those things which ought to be distinguished, abstracted, and severed one from another. These men are countenanc'd, 'tis true, as obedient subjects; but not as Drunkards: For so the Laws of the Land are severe against them, if they were well executed. 'Tis an arrand fallacy to conclude absolutely, and comprehensively, when the premises are only to be understood of things in some particular respects and considerations: Although I wish from my heart, there were no need of such logical acceptations; but that such as were loyal heretofore, and do still keep their integrity, did not blast their own virtue, and give their

D enemies

enemies occasion, by the looseness of their lives, to traduce the goodness of their cause.

Now as to your darling, private meetings, whereby you confront the publick establish'd worship of God, and would make men believe, that God is served only in your corners: That (as *Eliab* once spake unadvisedly, and with too much ostentation) you are left alone—that you are as a garden of Cucumbers—that our Temples are profan'd with superstition.

Sirs, be not angry, if the supream Magistrate have a jealous eye upon your Assemblies; as having paid dear already for the like method, and proceedings. Is there no cause for him to fear? lest you should hatch such *Harpy's* as may in time devour him. And what necessity I pray of this schism? I can call it no better, if he defin'd it a right, that said, it was a causeless and culpable separation. Are not the gates of *Jerusalem* open? Why do you flock then (like the Disciples of *Jeroboam*) to *Dan*, and *Bethel*? Are there any snares upon *Mizpeth*? or Nets spread upon *Tabor*? Are the wayes of *Zion* unoccupied? Are there any Lyons in the way to cause you to go thorow by-wayes? Are there any *Cerintus's*, or *Marrions*, that you run out of our Assemblies as *Saint John* did out of the Bath? Is this to follow the direction of Christ, to preach from the house top? or is this to imitate his example, who spake openly to the World, and taught in the Synagogue, and in the Temple whither the Jews resorted; and in secret he said nothing. Were there a *Nero*, or *Dioclesian* at the helm, who should threaten to mingle our blood with our Sacrifices; if you had your

Ante

Hof. 5. 1.

Joh. 18. 20

Antelucana; and should flock into caves of the earth, to worship God in Christ. I would commend your zeal, and run along with you. But now the blessed dayes of *Queen Elizabeth* (as you were wont to call them heretofore) are resolv'd, and come back again: we have liberty and encouragement, under our *Josiah*, to be as religious, as we will, or can, what ingratitude is it to complain of such halcyon dayes? to run like *Foxes* into holes? when we should like *Doves*, flock to the windows of the Tabernacle. You confess we keep to the same Foundation; why should we not then meet under the same roof? The first Christians met together with one consent in one place; whether it was to pray, hear, or break bread. Division of places will not long be without division of minds. And where can we upon better grounds expect the presence of God, then in places dedicated, and consecrated to his name. There he hath promised that he will dwell in the midst of the Children of Israel for ever. Saint Basil upon those words—I will pay my vows in the midst of *Jerusalem*; breaks out into — *ἡ πόλις οἱ τοῦ ἐκκλησιαίου καταλαμβάνοντες.*— that is, observe this; ye that leave the Church, and turn aside to common houses! As if they had been guilty of a great crime, in setting up Altars in any other place, save at *Jerusalem* where men ought to worship. This proved from the Devils *Apishness*; For if the Lord have his Table—the Table of Lord, we shall read also of the Table of Devils. If Bees have their Hives: *habent et vespa* (sayes *Tertullian*) wasps and Hornets, will have their holes too.

I know you will say, we do but pray to p. 137

Lib. 3. p.
107.

our God, and discourse of his Word, Well! you know who was poyson'd with Wine in the Sacrament. And I wish there were no venom distill'd in private prayers, and dilating upon Scriptures, by uncouth reflexions upon legal establishments. Tell us of obeying the commandments of God, as long as you please, yet I dare not beleive you; so long as you break the Laws of the Church: *for unless we observe both we obey neither*, sayes unparallel'd Hooker. It is to me a distinction without a difference, to separate and divide the laws of men, from the laws of God: if such laws of men are not Repugnant to the laws of God.

See Mr.
Prins par-
rallel
'twixt
these two:

In the next place you are much troubled, that *Papists* are not so much troubled as your selves; and indeed, I am much troubled that you give more occasion. 'Tis true they refuse to take the oaths of Allegiance, (I speak of some of them) and Supremacy, and you refuse to keep them. Some of their principles are pernicious to our Government; and you know whose practises have been so. Though you look several wayes; yet we find our fields wasted, and can scarcely tell who are the greatest trespassers: They would have blown up the Parliament-House: And I am loth to say, who were the occasion of doing worse; because what they did was in the dark, but this before the face of the Sun. I know with *Pilate*, you will wash your own hands; Well, tell me what you think of this narrative; A kennel of Hounds hunted an Hare all the former part of the day, and towards night a Shepherds curr steps in, and murders

ders the Hare ; who were necessary to the
 p^{ro}cor Hares death ? If you abhor the fact, do
 not build the Tombes, or keep the garments of
 them that did it. Take heed of nibbling and
 knawing at the root of anothers gourd, and un-
 dermining anothers Cedar : Murmuring will lay
 the Axe to the root of this Tree : In so doing
 you shall justifie *Sodom*, I mean *Rome* it self.
 I acknowledge (with my betters) that *Jesuites*
Papists, standing to their own principles, cannot
 be good Subjects to reformed Princes ; yet we
 know that the secular Priests renounce their
 Doctrine herein, as most destructive. The *Popes*
 themselves have also contradicted each other in
 this point (where is then their infallibility ?)
Boniface the eight ordain'd that all men should
 acknowledg the supremacy of the *Pope*, upon
 pain of damnation ; yet *Innocent* the third, af-
 firm'd that the King of *France* hath no Superi-
 our upon earth. It was a reproach cast upon
 the late Royal Army, that it was *Papish* ; I call
 it a reproach because the denomination
 was taken from the lesser part, and from a very
 small inconsiderable number of that body : Yet
 suppose it had consisted, most of them upon ma-
 ture deliberation ; this will redound to their
 honour, and our shame, were there Doctrines
 as ancient, Catholick, and Orthodox, as
 many of their personal actings in that
 War were courageous and loyal ; I think
 there would be no need of keeping such a
 vast distance from them. I am sorry (said that
 blessed Martyr) that *Papists* should have a great-
 er sense of their Allegiance than many Protestant
 Professors ; who seem to have learn'd and practis'd

Stillingsf.
 P. 448.

Εκείν.
Βασιλ. κ.
cap. 15.

the

the worst principles of the worst Papists; or as (that Oracle of Reason, and standard of Religion) goes on saying: It was indeed a foul and indelible shame, for such as would be accounted Protestants, to enforce me a declared Protestant, their Lord and King, to a necessary use of Papists, or any others, who did but their duty to help me to defend my self.

But perhaps, I may so long endeavour to deliver you from this scruple, that I may contract to my self the imputation of *Popery*: And whilst I am so charitable, as to prevent the dust from falling into your eyes, I may stand on the windy side on you, untill I hazard the putting out my own; for you are too free of that livery to every one that stands in your way. Though you may as truly say, we worship an *Asses* head, as that we espouse any *Popish* Tenents; my Answer to those that examine me in this point is this: Am I not a Minister of the Church of *England*? And is not this enough to evade, or blow away such a calumny? Is it less than a contradiction, to call those Bishops and Ministers of the Church *Popish*, who have subscribed unto, and do allow of the Articles, Liturgy, and Canons of this Church? Wise men will as soon believe you, if you should affirm; that those who approve all things in the *Alcoran*, are Christians, or that *England* reaches as far as *Italy*. What considerable point almost betwixt them and us, is not in some of these declar'd against? So that this web which you weave with so much earnestness, will only catch dotterels and fools; such as have either shak'd hands with their reason, or else are enthrall'd
and

and captivated under the tyranny of their partiality, and lock'd down to the Gallies of their own passions. If this be not enough to disabuse your credulity, and to vindicate my self from any compliance with the Court of Rome; I profess moreover, that with the *Bereans*, I have search'd the Scriptures: Neither am I an utter stranger to the Fathers and Historians of the primitive times; yet I can neither find either their opinions, or your singularities, wherein they or you differ from the Church of *England*, in any of those Canonical, and Authentick Records. Why should you grudge at the *Papists* peace & protection, so long as they are peaceable; and either actively obey the Laws of the Land, or else are ready passively to submit to the penalties charged upon them for their neglect, if you find them thus dispos'd? As great an aversion, and antipathy as ye have against them, 'tis worth your labour, herein to make them your own exemplars. Sure you are not so bloody in your Tenents, as to maintain that all who differ from us in Religion, meerly upon the account of Religion, must presently incur capital punishments. Saint *Bernard* upon those words of *Solomon* — *Take the Foxes*, — observes, that he commands them not to be rooted up and killed, but only to be taken, that is, by convincing them of their errours. — *Cum convincitur falsitas, captus est vulpes que demolitur vineam*. You cannot be so ignorant of the usages, in other States, and Kingdoms (except where the inquisition prevails) how those that dissent from the Religion, which is publicly authoris'd, are not only permitted but

Ser. in []
Gant. 2. 13.

secur'd, so long as they do not affront the Civil, or Ecclesiastical Laws of those dominions. And it would be but an unseasonable president, and excitement of cruelty towards our Brethren abroad, if we should begin in the same cup at home. I wish with Saint *Paul* that all men were as my self; yet since there *must be Heresies*, and our judgments are as different as our faces: since breeding and education do so much sway, and influence mens Religion; I have a latitude of charity, for those that dissent from me; if they be not seducing impostors, or turbulent incendiaries.

CHAP. VI.

*Reordination is no sufficient ground for
Non-conformity.*

ANother Sconce, or Bulwark of yours, wherein ye have intrench't your selves, and stand out against us inviting you (out of the sense of the greatness of the Harvest) to bear a part with us *in the heat and burthen of the day*, in the work of the Ministry; saying unto you, as the men of Gibeon said to Joshua: *slack not your hands, but come up to us quickly, and help us*: Some of you have answer'd no, for we must be ordained by Bishops; otherwise by the Law, we have no commission; and as for our parts, we are resolved not to undervalue that ordination, which we have receiv'd already from our Brother Presbyters. The Bishops hands are not more Authentick than theirs. Besides should we admit of another ordination; what is this, but to confess our former void; and then what shall become of those children, which we have Baptised and other ministerial acts which we have performed by vertue of that ordination; this is objected but by some of you and those juniors, who came up in the time of the second Temple, and did not *behold the glory of the first*: And herein, your condition is the more to be pittied, as being deceived and betrayed into such a labyrinth as this, by those that had seen more years, and so should

1 King. 13.
24.

should have been more fatherly : I wish the complaint of *Cyprian* may not hold in this case—*Parentes Parricide*—Fathers are murderers, poyson their children, and give *them four Grapes to set their teeth on edge*. I cannot but apply to them the case of the young Prophet, that man of God, who was led out of his way by an old Prophet, so that he brake the commandment of the Lord and at last was slain by a Lyon:

Sirs; look about you : Will you stand in the Market place all the day idle, out of a complement to some ring-leaders of a party, who thought to have retrench'd the footsteps of ancient discipline, and pull'd up the Land-marks of Catholick order in the Church; that all persons acting in the ministry might derive from them and commence from the Epoche of their jurisdiction. Just as *Jeroboam* made new Priests, after he had made an innovation in the political Government. The old Wells must be stopt up, and new found Cisterns must be set abroad. If one should ask these recusants whether they had not at first an inward call from God, I'll warrant you, they would make it as evident to Master Nye (if he were again in his chair) both as to the time, and manner of such a call, as ever it is apparent that young *Samuel*, the Prophets, and Apostles, were called by a signal voice from Heaven: Yet this call from God must be suspended, or utterly neglected, if it be not warranted, and confirm'd by such men as they phan- sic and approve; as if they were the *servants of men*, and came on their errand, rather than the Embassadors of Christ, and Nuncios of Hea-

ven. What is Ordination, but an impouring such men to the work of the Ministry, as by their qualifications make it appear, they are set apart, and appointed by God to the same office: As Kings when Inaugurated, and persons when Married, are declar'd unto the World, that they are to be looked upon, in such a royal capacity, and Matrimonial relation. Therefore 'tis no contradiction in Saint Paul—that he was not an Apostle of men nor by men, but by Jesus Christ. Yet we read, that he was ordered, instituted, and set apart by men to the work of the ministry: because his inward call was derived immediately from God, but the manifestation, and declaration of this, was from men. Now, since the loosing the golden reins of Government, in head strong times, some that were but meer Presbyters themselves, by a too precipitate boldness, took upon themselves a power of making and propagating others like themselves, where they meet with officious Clients, such as were willing to be made currant by their stamp; it hath pleased our Legitimate Governours, after a Jubilee of an happy restoration, to prevent schism, and confusion among Ministers, that they may not claim from several Originals, and so maintain divers interests, and like Jacob and Esau struggle in the womb of the Church, and endanger the rending of her bowels; as those *lay-Corinthians* did; whereas some cry'd up Paul some *Apollas*. It hath pleased the wisdom of the foresaid Authority to command---that all professing to take upon them the work of the ministry, should pass under the hands of the Reverend Bishops, according

Gal. 1.1.
Acts. 13.

ing

*Epist ad
Evagrium.*

1 Tim. 4.
14.

Titus 1. 5.

ing to the custom of this, and the primitive Catholick Church; that all might pronounce the same *Sibboleth*. Who would think that any should be so refractory, as not to comply with this peaceable and laudable design. Saint *Jerom* did much advance the office of Presbyters; yet when he comes to the business of Ordination, he leaves that solely to the Bishop. And so I understand Saint *Paul*, though he mentions the laying on of the hands of the Presbyters, as concurring with him in that work; yet to shew, that he was the principal, and they but assistants, he expounds his meaning afterwards, 2 Tim. 1. 8. by the *laying on of his own hands*; *scilicet* in that place noting the chief causation; as *per se* in the other signifies only a concurrence. Thus he appropriates this work also to *Titus* Bishop of *Cres* — to Ordain Elders in every City. I will not dispute what may be done in case of necessity; when Bishops cannot be had. I am not an absolute stranger to the judgment of Learned men, when things are brought to this exigent; nor am I ignorant, that *Eusebius* and *Prudentius* Preaching to the *Indians*, are commended, though they had no Ordination at all. But I adore the goodness of God, that did not suffer us to be plunged into that gulf, in the worst of times; he left us a seed of that apostolical Race; some whereof Ordained many hundreds, maugre all the thunderbolts of their malicious adversaries! And I look upon them as shielded by a supernatural power, in doing of this their duty; when men were so wrathfully displeased at them. Therefore to such as say they could be ordained by none but

but Presbiters in those times; and so plead necessity; I must answer, it was not *absolute*, but *contracted*. And whether such voluntary, and forward revolting from the establish'd rule and method of Ordination, climbing up into the Lords sheep-fold some other way; I say, whether this irregular sending forth of Ministers, hath not been a great occasion that so many sheep have been peel'd and scratch'd with the briars and brambles of wasting errors, I leave to the sad thoughts of others: Sure I am, this hath been the subject of my pensive meditations, when I saw so much hemlock, and such daring, luxuriant tares growing in the furrows of the Church; God usually leaves those men to themselves, blasts their enterprises, and lets Satan loose upon them, that leaves his good old paths, to walk in wayes of their own invention. *Clement* judg'd *Origen* to have fallen into so many errors, because he Preach't without ordination: *Cyprian* notes the same of *Donatus*, *quia à seipso ordinatus*: And Bishop *Durant* Upon Col. sayes—'Tis no wonder that those men preach what is false, who never had any legitimate power at all. But I am most confirm'd by that of the Prophet, *Behold I am against them that Prophesie false dreams, and cause my people to erre by their lies; yet I sent them not, nor commanded them, therefore they shall not profit this people at all, saith the Lord.* It troubled *Bilueh* to the day of his death, that he made a Collation in a place where there was no Minister, before he himself was in Orders; So tender was that good man, of violating that Order which was in the Church:

Now whereas you put on your Tragical

Buskins, and cry out if you should be reordain'd; this were all one, with renouncing your former ordination, and proclaiming all your ministerial Acts perform'd, by vertue thereof void. I profess, I neither see any coherence, nor any sound inference at all in this logick; neither is there any such declaration in the Act of Parliament; but rather a great deal of tenderness and compassion for men in your condition; a meeting only to set us all in a right posture, that we might all be as an *Army with Banners*, marching all one way, that is, with our faces towards *Zion*, under the conduct of the same Commanders.

Had those in Authority reduc't you into the state of lay-men, concluded your ordination void, and then applied this *salvo* to what you acted heretofore—*Fieri non debuit, factum valet*; you might (perhaps) have complained the more, yet they would not have wanted presidents and examples of counsels to that purpose: But they touch you with a soft hand, only injoyning you to take Episcopal ordination, as it were *ad corroborandum titulum*; to make your former ordination Canonical, Legal, and Authentick: This is evident from that proviso in the act it self—*That it shall not extend to those Ministers of the forraign reformed Churches allowed, or to be allowed by the Kings Majesty, his Heirs and Successors.* Therefore it follows in my logick; that the compilers of this act, did not account ordination by Presbyters to be absolutely void. However Master Prin is pleased to condemn Bishop Hall for reordaining Master Bury, ordain'd before beyond the Seas; which

In his un-
Bishoping
Timothy
and Titus.

is

is matter of fact, either without the compass
 of my remembrance, or short of my observati-
 on: Yet to shew our charity to the reformed
 Churches, the letter of the Law is now express
 to the contrary: Doth not this proceed from a
 spirit of condescension and moderation? Yet in
 your anger you will say - all things are screw'd
 up to the utmost extremity, without the least a-
 batements whatever. But though the Law thus
 bares with forreigners, and is civil to strangers,
 must you that are of the same Family claim the
 same privilege, and plead exemption from the
 discipline of your Mother? For shame unlace
 your selves, come in, and renew your commissi-
 on. Those Officers that fought under the Earl
 of *Essex*, received a new commission under the
 Lord *Fairfax*. Were not many Kings in the
 old Testament anointed, and inaugurated a-
 gain and again? As *Solomon* and *David*. Were
 not the Apostles sent forth by Christ? Yet they
 were separated, and had hands imposed on them,
 by men; and that not only once; but *Paul* had
 hands laid on him, first by *Ananias*, *Act. 9.* and
 then by the Prophets, *Act. 13.* and *Barnabas* Bishop
 had hands imposed on him, before he stood in
 competition with *Matthias*; and a good Casuist
 gives the reason — *Ordination is an external*
Rite, and no Sacrament, therefore it may be ita-
rated, or repeated. Were not many in these
 late times married by a Minister, and after-
 wards by a Justice of peace? Yet what a dust,
 and a bustle do you make? You pretend that
 you are willing to exercise the office of your
 ministry; yet you are so stiff, that you will not
 come

1 Chron.

29. 22.

1 Sam. 16.

2.

2 Sam 2. 46

Bishop

Bilson

P. 93.

Baldwin,

P. 1040.

come in to have your patents sealed. What though many of you, scarce ever dipt your feet in *fonte Caballino*; I mean, were never graduated in the University by way of preparation, to receive Orders in the Church; yet I am assur'd, ye would have found the Fathers of the Church so indulgent to you, that notwithstanding this defect, they would have flown upon your necks, and rejoyc'd over you as their fellow-labourers in the Lords vineyard. The door is not yet shut: Why do you stand deliberating and demurring, whether you should perform your duty, by entring in? Though 'tis the eleventh hour of the day, yet you may earn your penny, if you will lay your shoulders to the work, and with sincere and double diligence redeem the time you have lost. But if you still resolve to go on whispering in the dark, and to continue in your clandestine vaults, do not study what answer you may give unto me; but what return you will make to your master and mine at the great day of accounts; how you will evade that woe which Saint Paul pronounced against himself, had he not preached the Gospel; which very words did so far prevail with an eminent person of your perswasion, that as Saint Austin was converted from libertism by those words, — *not in chambering and wantonness, &c.* So was he reclaim'd from Non-conformity by — *Wo is me if I preach not the Gospel.* Go ye and do likewise, lay the same Text close to your hearts, not as a charm, but a cataplasma; and if there be any life left, it will fetch you again; if this phisick will not
work

Mr Sprint.

work upon your Tempers, what think you of this expedient ? Were Saint *Austin*, Saint *Ambrose*, *Calvin*, *Perkins* : Nay, were Christ and his Twelve Apostles here upon the Earth, and met together in our English World ; would they (think ye) lurk in holes, and seal up their mouths ? I dare say, they would rather break forth into exultation, and wonder saying. *How beautiful are thy Temples, and thy Gates O England.*

CHAP. VII.

A Transition, or Introduction to the main Reasons which are pretended to obstruct Conformity.

WE have hitherto been but in the Suburbs, and grappled onely with your out-works: The main Forts and Cittadels in which you incamp your selves against our batteries, are yet untouc'd and unhaken. All that hath been yet said, is but pickeering some velitations with your forlorn hope (like the *Turkish Aspi*) which were to abate their enemies first furious onset, and blunt their Swords to make way for the *Janizaries*: The main battel is yet behind. Just as Sophisters make a flourish with some inconsiderable, and prelufory Sillogism, before they pinch, and wound with their keener Arguments.

Methinks I see your very *Triarij* divided into three *Battalis's*, marching up yonder Hill (like *Hannibals* Troops climbing up the *Alp's*) and in a Gigantick rage, defying all the hosts of little *David* that shall stand in your way, and oppose your thundering Legions: 'Confident of victory, and prodigal of death. Your defensive Armour is not like that *Ephes. 6. 14, 15, 16.* But 'tis the Covenant upon your breasts, whilst you are clad with this, you think your selves invulne-

vulnerable, and charm'd into a profound security. Who can pierce this Coat of Mail? Your offensive Weapons, are Swords and Javlings, furbush'd with *Lawfulness of War against the King*, and overturning the Government of the Church and State. In the Rear are Volleys of Canonshot against the Book of Common Prayer. This must be dragg'd along, like a Royal Captive, to adorn your Chariots and set off your Trophies. These are your *Cerberus-Heads*; these are your frightful *Mormo's*; in these threefold cords twisted together lies your strength, as *Sampsons* did in his hair. *What? We give our Assent and Consent to the Common Prayer, disclaim all War against the King, Renounce the Covenant? we'll never do it.* And indeed, I tremble at this part of my perswasive, since I am come to uncase the head; and must be tampering with your right eyes, lest both my Rhetorick and my skill should be defective, in accomplishing my peaceable design, and crowning my desires after unanimity. Methinks I am essaying to carry a vast Mountain upon my back, and to reconcile antipathies: For though I had Logick enough to deal with your understandings, and Engines to batter, or undermine this Capitol; yet you have so many reserves in those secret Corners and Caverns of your wills; that I much doubt the force of my Oratory to inchant you out of them. Yet as I have rust with your *footmen*, so I shall now endeavour to keep what pace I can with your *Horsemen*; and like *Horatius*, I will first separate these *Ter gemini*, and then (*Auspice Christi*) plead with them apart.

CHAP. VIII.

Assent and Consent not unlawful to be given to the Common-Prayers and Rites of the Church of England.

I Have never been more transported with wonder, than when some of your classis, & those none of the lowest, have maintained most dogmatically, in conference with my self.--That neither the Greek nor Latin Churches, had any forms of Prayer. This made me almost to turn a Sceptical Academick, and to doubt of all things of which I took my self to have some knowledge, I was even tempted to dis-beleive my own senses; as if all things were but *speciosa phantasmes*, and empty apparitions which I beheld As if *Geographers* and *Travelours* had impos'd upon me, when they told me of such a place as *Constantinople*: For I thought I had as good evidence for these forms of Prayer, which my eyes have looked upon, and have been handed down to our age, by the uncontroleable Tradition, and unanimous consent of former generations, as I could have of any objective verity below divine Revelations. That cause must needs stand upon a tottering Basis, that is usher'd in with so strange an Hypothesis; which amounts to no less than an incredible Paradox.

Mat 26.
44.

As for the lawfulness of a form, it is an indisputable

indisputable warrant unto me; that we have not only our Saviours practise, who went *the third time and prayed the same words*, but his command too — *When ye pray say* — And if you will have *measure pressed down*; see the practise of *Hezekiah*, who after he had compos'd an Ode of thanksgiving for his recovery from sickness, (and thanksgiving you know is a part of prayer) *he vow'd to sing the same to the tuned instrument all the dayes of his life*. And the very same song which *Moses* began *Exod. 15. 1. Miriam* repeated over again *vers. 21. Nay*, those Saints which had got the victory over the beast (as if *Rev. 13. 3* formes were to be used in Heaven) sang the same song of *Moses*. You your selves do not account it any stinting, much less quenching of the Spirit, though you sing a pleasant Psalm that is drawn up into metre to your hands, yet notwithstanding you'l say, you sing *with the Spirit*. And the Apostle taxes it for an absurd *1 Cor. 14. indecorum* in the Church of *Corinth*, that when *26. they came together every one had a Psalm*. And is it not as uncouth, for every one in publick to have a several prayer? A several prayer did I say? Nay, were men let loose to their own liberty, they would be little better *than wild Asses Colts*, suuffing up the wind towards divers climes: One would pray contrary to another, as they are sowr'd with opposite principles and aim at diametrical interests. The devotions of Covenanters and Independants, have been a sad instance, praying as if they would enervate, favel and unpray one anothers prayers. Certainly, this is not to take Heaven by violence; or as *Tertulian* — *Coire in ætium; & deum cū si* *21. 1.*

manu facta, precationibus ambire orantes; to beset the Almighty, and as *Jacob* did, not let him go untill he hear us and bless us. *Thetis* in *Homer* caught *Jupiter* by the knees, and by this importunity obtained her request. Christ hath left a special promise that their prayers shall be granted in Heaven; who in their askings can agree upon Earth. When we are divided in our supplications (as the Builders of *Babel* were in their languages) we abate, and weaken their force; even as water looses its strength, when 'tis divided into a multiplicity of Trenches.

Mat. 13. 19.

2 Chron.
29. 30.

Hezekiah and his Princes, foresaw this dangerous, and exorbitant humour in the *Levites*; if once they got the reins upon their own necks; therefore they prescribe them the very words wherewith they should sing praises unto the Lord. The primitive Christians were so uniform in their prayers, that when they said Amen, they made a noise like a clap of thunder, or like the roaring of the Sea.

Judicious *Hooker* was so verily perswaded, that no Church thorowly settled did ever use their voluntary dictates. *Ignatius* in his Epistle to the *Magnesians* doth rarely and earnestly injoin *Nisi Dominus ego non*, let there be one common prayer in all the Church. *Constantine* did not onely command a set form of prayer in the Church, but also in his Camp. And *Calvin* speaking of a form of prayer, in his Epistle to the Protector of England, is at his *valde probo*: He alwayes us'd the same prayer himself before his Lectures, which is Printed before his commentary upon *Ezekiel*: If he ever spake any thing obliquely

of

of ours, it was before it was polish'd and corrected, in the latter end of the reign of King Edward the Sixth. And that such prayers were, and are still used in the reformed Churches abroad at this day; he is but a novice in story, that is ignorant of it.

As for these objections. *It shall be given to you in that hour what ye shall say.*— And praying *in the Spirit*— they do nothing invalidate the Authority of forms; for, the first is only concerning times of Tryal and Persecution, when Christians were to be brought before Kings and Rulers for the sake of Christ: And there is a meer fallacy in the last; as if praying by a form and praying in the Spirit, were such *discrepant*, that they cannot stand together; whereas their own sudden prayers are forms, in respect of others that joyn with them; yet I hope they will not deny but these do also pray in the spirit. Nay, a form hath many advantages to promote spiritual prayer, for those that pray without premeditation; their inventions, memories, judgments, and tongues are all busie in framing matter, and forming expressions suitable thereunto, which must needs be as so many sucklers, and distractions, to abate the vigour of their intentions, for what they pray.

Where men have a desire to instill their singular opinions into the minds of others; 'tis no wonder they would be lax and free in their prayers: Hence it hath been forbidden by counsels, to use any prayers but what have been approved by *Synods*, lest poyson should be conveyed by prayers, as it was (by the Priests) in the Sacrament: Neither is it strange, that wane-

A persuasive to Conformity.

ton stomachs, which refuse solid and wholsom meat, and long after kickshaws; if they reject the ordinary prayers of the Church, and seek for other of their own inventions: for you know men are fond of their own productions. I dare say, if any are not nourished and heated with our prayers; if their hearts be not like those of the Disciples going to *Emaus*; they bring with them some prejudicate impediment, some nauseating distemper, and coldness in their own breasts. The fault is not in the liturgy, but in their own want of zeal, in not joyning their hearts in good earnest to those prayers, or as it is expressed better to my hands—*Men lay all the blame upon the Liturgy, to excuse the deadness of their own hearts*: Like her in *Seneca* that said the room was dark, when she her self was blind, I confess, where men have fluent, eloquent tongues, and have expressions at will (which are the common not distinguishing gifts of Gods Spirit) if they are minded to sacrifice to the dragge of their own applause, in the ostentation of their parts, and desire to erect their own Monuments among the people; they have a large field to expatiate in: yet all this I aver, may be done without any dram of saving grace. The distinction between *χρησις* and *χρησιμα*, grace and gifts deserves your further inquiry upon this subject.

I am not ashamed to acknowledge, that upon emergencies, I have indulged my self the liberty of my own measures, and I found a vehement heat in my self for the time, my affections even over-running their banks: and if I did casually

casually hit upon any pertinent, winning and melting words, I was ready to flatter, and hugg the felicity of my own rhetorick: By which it clearly appears to me, that there is a Serpent lurking under those leaves, or specious pretences, for extempory prayer, especially when we do velificare, or make a flourish in publick, by turning the Pulpit (to use Mr. Baxters words) into the hypocrites Theatre: We are then more apt to seek our own glory, than the glory of him that sent us: for in private commonly there is not so much heat attending our extempory prayers (I appeal to your own experience in this particular) which is no small evidence, that vain-glory is at one end of them: For there is an exorbitant zeal, which is a *work of the flesh*.

May there not be a fire in straw, which may flame and expire at the same time? *Cito ignis Gal. 5. 20.*

stipulae conquiescit, & exundans flamma, deficientibus nutrimentis emoritur, Though, the affections may be more enlarged, and dilated in sudden ebullitions raptures and passions; as some women swell to an unusual bigness, because they keep not themselves under the restraint of lacing; and the waters that covered the earth at the first creation, were shallower than when they were reduced into the bounded channels of the Seas. The blood and spirits called forth into the outward parts of the body, leave a lesser proportion about the heart, to guard it from a *delinquium*, and such feavorish distempers often prove mortal. Yet may not those devotions which are performed by the standard of prescribed forms (though they make not such a blaze) like coals of Juniper, preserve that heat

*Jerom ad
furiam p.
83.*

longer

longer which they have conceived? May not these deliberate and rational services be more deep though they make not so much noise? May not I pray with judgment, understanding and intenseness of soul when I read, as well as when I say a prayer without book? when I open my eyes, as well as when I shut them? I pray read the true meaning of those words---
The true worshippers shall worship the Father in spirit and truth, as expounded by that good man Mr. Hildersham.

On John

4.

Let's not dispute so long about the mode of prayer untill we forget either what it is, or that we owe any such tribute unto God. As I have heard a wrangling Sophister so earnest in snatching at collateral and incident disputes, untill he hath forgot the question in debate: And I have seen some ill nurtur'd doggs, so violent in questing after every little Bird, that they have left the game behind them. Let us offer up to God
Clo. Alex. τῆς δικαίας ψυχῆς θυμίαμα, the incense of a righteous soul, let us *ἐμιλεῖν* *πρὸς* *τὸ θεόν*, converse with God and keep close unto him, in the pantings and
Basil. p. 772 motions of our souls; and then if this may be done by a form, lets *be wise unto sobriety*, in hushing of unchristian quarrels; and by joyning together *ὁμολογῶμεν* with one consent, in the same work of such regular prayers.

Now because some of you will condescend to a form, a lawful and expedient; yet you have no kindness for ours. Just as I knew a Gentleman, who had variety of drinks, and those the best in their kind, approved off by his neighbours round about; yet he was alwayes out of conceit with his own liquors, and sent his man far and

near.

near, even to obscure places, to buy, or borrow what might better please his own palate. The application is as easie as the story is real; but were it fabulous, the moral would prove very pertinent. We admire things at a distance, and those that are far fetcht do best please such persons, whose imaginations are stronger than their reason. Were the Offices of *Geneva*, or *Amsterdam* translated into England, I'll warrant you, many nice stomachs (for a time) would make no bones of them; nay how would they be imbrac'd and cry'd up? not because they are better than ours, but in that they would be novelties amongst us. Although our usages, and methods in Gods service have been commended, and the hardest particulars practis'd, by the most eminent reformers in the world, ours have stood without any contradiction that I have met withal, except it be such as the Moon meets with, whose lustre may be bark'd at by whistling currs but 'tis farre enough elevated above the reach of their teeth.

That stratagem--that our Liturgy was taken out of the *Mais-Book*, did execution in its season, whilst it was managed by the brawny Arms of those emissaries of *Apollyon*, who were resolv'd to be firenuous in their calumnies, 'tis yet uncertain whether this charge did proceed most from impotent malice, or desperate impudence: This imposture is now so transparent, that the meanest capacities begin to see thorow it; and discover the legerdmain thereof. If to pray to God in our Mother tongue and not in latin. If to pray to him only in the name of Jesus Christ, without any addresses to

the

*Præstat
culpam ag-
noscere :
quæ de-
precari.*

Ezra. 7. 8.

the Virgin *Mary*, or any other Saint, or Angel: If to acknowledge but two Sacraments, it to receive the Lords Supper in both kinds, with a declaration against transubstantiation, elevation, and adoration. If neither to respect the *Popes* Supremacy, purgatory, justification by works, or prayers for the dead. If those prayers which were compos'd by martyr'd Protestants, against which the *Pope* sends forth his roaring Bull, as if they were level'd directly against his Throne; and will sooner dispense with his followers, for hearing our Sermons, than joyning with our prayers: I say (that I may put a period to this sentence, which might easily be drawn forth into a whole paragraph) if these things favour of the *Masse-Book*, I must confess before the Sun, that I am a Papist: that our Liturgy and Articles, were fram'd out of the *Romish* mint. But since there is nothing of this denomination once insinuated in our prayers: Since the whole compages of our service is purg'd and san'd from all the rubbish, and chaffs of *Popish* trash: since we have recover'd those vessels which *Nebuchadnezzar* had carried out of *Jerusalem*; may not we bring them again into the house of the Lord? May not we fetch the Ark out of the territories of the Philistines and carry it unto *Shilo*? may not *Lot* be redeemed from the Kings of the Nations, after he had been taken prisoner? And may not the Creed, Lords prayer, ten commandments some excellent prayers and laudable usages, which were usurp'd upon by the tripple Crown, be restor'd to the service of the Church as a captiye Woman might be married

to an *Israelite*, after her head had been shaven, her nails pair'd, and the raiment of her captivity taken from her : Especially seeing the beams and rafters of our Liturgy, were in the Church long before there was any such thing as *Poper*y in the World.

This *Lion* being hunted out of your way, this bug-Bear being devided of all its terrible vizards : Lets see what in the next place affrights you. And herein *I* could have said more to the purpose, if *I* could have prevailed with any of you, to have given me your particular exceptions, to which you would have stood : For *I* perceive there is almost as much variety in your exceptions as there is in your faces : One pishes at and slites, what another cries out against with a stentorian voice, as an intollerable abomination. But this *I* could never obtain, either by my self, or by the mediation of proxies, whom *I* employ'd to the same purpose : As if it were as difficult a matter to procure a catalogue of your objections against the Liturgy, as 'tis to get a list of the Churches traditions.

Bishop
Taylar.

I cannot suppose that men of your pitch can be offended with those words in the confession ——— There is no health in us ——— with the Letany, as if it were a role of curses ——— with kneeling at that short prayer at the end of the commandements ——— *Lord have mercy upon us, and incline our hearts to keep thy Law !* Alas ! these are poor vulgar cavils, your scruples run higher, concerning assent and consent : And here you are very critical, learned and curious in finding out gins to intangle and perplex your own consciences, as if you had found out a spi-

*Conscientia
minus
scrupulosa
noscitur ex
vitiis.*

* The Church in her best ages hath secur'd her vitals, with an hedge of subscription. in *Austins* time, such as were admitted to the ministry, were to renounce the errors of the *Manichees*, *Arrians*, *Novatians*, and *Pelagians*; to declare

tutual *Microscope*, to discern what is invisible to our duller eyes. Not only your wills (say you) must *Consent* to the use of it as good, but your understanding is engaged in the truth of the *Liturgy*. And indeed I had thought these two acts had been so twisted together in rational men, that ordinarily, one doth suppose and infer the other. When I consent with my will to use the prayers of the Church, this ariseth from the conviction of my reason, that I may and ought to do so. And the act of my will would be brutish and irregular (like that of *Medea*, who was hurried only with the Oeffrum of her wilful passions) if it were not steer'd by the dictate of my understanding; this is to do it in judgment; therefore you do but put a fallacy upon your selves---*a bene conjunctis* &c. And whereas you say (some of you) that you could read our prayers, if you might be abated your Assent * and Consent; 'tis all one to me, as

whether they allowed of first and second marriages, the eating of flesh--repentance after lapses: Whether original concupiscence were a sin, or whether such as were out of the Church might inherit eternal life; in the Synode of *Nice* not only the Bishops, but *Constantine* himself subscribed to the decrees of that Synode with his own hands. So in *Luther's* time, when the Church was pestered with *Anabaptists*; *Serverus*, *Canipanus*, *Stuckfeldius*, and other Furies; it defended itself by prescribing bounds to those that were in the ministry, which they should not pass. See *Melancthon. Tomo tertio Declarationum selectarum. Cap. de calumnijs Osiandri* p. 699, 700. And why should not the Church of England (after these and other laudable examples) fortifie and preserve the Capitol of her peace, against turbulent invaders, and pernicious incendiaries, by limiting mens exorbitant excursions, in joyning their consent to her wholesome discipline, saying hitherto shall ye go and no further.

if you should say, you would use them in hypocrisie. But if after all this strife, what if these words Assent and Consent are but exegitical, where *in Deo* the same thing is expressed in several terms, as it is very usual in Scripture: and import no more than that you shall constantly, and unfeignedly use this form in publick, excluding all others: *Not as if our Assent to these definitions, were in the same manner internal as that is, which we give unto decrees, as infallible, but such as we give to those, which are not contrary to the fundamentals of faith out of submission for peace sake; as one well expresses it, whose reading and judgment out-strips his years.*

*Stillingsfl.
defence of
the Arch-
Bishop. 82.
1509.*

Whereas some of you have told me you would conform, were you not enjoined to do do what is absolutely sinful. These are but swelling words of vanity: For I must tell you again, prove what you say, and you shall have more companions. If any thing in the Common-prayer were contrary to any part of Gods word, we have authority from our subscription to disclaim it. *It is not lawful for the Church to ordain any thing that is contrary to the word of God, or besides the same.* They are the very words of our twentieth Article of Religion; so far is she from imposing any thing that is sinful; so unlike is our Church to the Church of Rome; if Cardinal Percon hit her meaning right, when he told King James pressing him, that the cup in the Sacrament, was according to Christs institution — *That tis lawful for the Church to dispense with Christs institutions; or if this single Cardinal be no competent Interpreter of that Churches sense, yet the*

the counsel of Constance cannot be denied, affirming — that although Christ hath appointed the Sacrament to be received under both kinds; yet (*Hoc non obstante*) we decree that the lay-people shall only receive under the species of bread. I only add this, that by the illustration of contraries ingrateful men might be brought to see their own happiness, who breath in the air of the English Church I bless God for his mercy, and conclude with those words of remarkable D. Downham *Though envy cannot say but our Church holds all substantial points of Divinity, and uses the ordinary means of salvation, as other Churches testifie; yet so wanton in Religion are men through spiritual pride, that they care not for the sound food of their souls, unless they may have their own sauce.*

10. Besides your giving Assent and Consent, you stumble again very unluckily, at the very threshold of the Liturgy. The very Calendar you say is intollerable: For therein is enjoined the observation of festival dayes, by the institution of man. I will not dispute with you about the change of the Sabbath day, from the seventh to the first day of the week. I had rather grant that to be by Apostolical and divine Authority than raise any dust about it. Yet this hinders not but that it is in the power of the Church to set apart other dayes, especially I am confirmed herein, because I find dayes of thanksgiving, and fasting set apart in the Scriptures, by comission from men; and I have seen the like practised by your selves, I find the
feast

feast of *Purim* so lemnly observed in the Old, and the feast of the dedication owned by Christ himself in the New Testament. Those *Agape*, or Love feasts the Apostle speaks of, were taxed by him, not simply as feasts, but as abused by the *Corinthians*. 'Tis easie to mention the Homilies and Orations, which the Ancients made upon the Nativity of Christ and other festivals: That is a false plea against Saints dayes, as if they were equalliz'd to the Lords own day: For look what difference there is between the Lady and her Maid, Christ and his servants, the same we acknowledge twixt the Sabbath, and other festivals. We Honour the Saints; and if we should not, I find by experience, we should give the Papists just offence; yet *we do not adore them*: We desire to imitate those vertues and graces that were in the Saints: We rejoyce at their conquest over the World, their triumph in Heaven; because they keep an holy-day in rejoycing at our welfare; especially when we are converted from our sins. Above all we desire to glorifie God himself; who sanctified them on earth, inabled them to do and suffer gloriously, and hath now enroll'd them ~~in~~ in the Calender and dip-ticks in Heaven; *He is wonderful in all his Saints*. We make no shrines for them, or go a pilgrimage to visit their remains: We fall not down to their representing pictures, only we retain their hystorical memorial, that we may shew our selves their genuine posterity; as the *Romans* by beholding the Images of their Noble Ancestours, were inflam'd to an imitation of their Heroical Acts. 'Tis true, the Apostle told the *Colossians*, he was afraid of them, in that

F they

Joh. 10.
22.

they observed dayes but I take in the whole
verse, and there follows *Mourner and Teares*
which makes it plain those dayes were Jewish
feasts, not only preceeding, but prefiguring Christ
who was to come; and who doubts but that
such festivals were abolish'd in Gospel-times.
There is yet another Bank cast up against Holy-
dayes--They contradict the fourth Command-
ment, which sayes, *Six dayes shalt thou labour*.
Therefore none of those dayes are to be set apart
for recreation, or festivity: This was prest up-
on me by a plain person under my own charge;
yet 'tis easie to divine out of whose quiver this
shaft was derived, or on whose Anvil it was ham-
mer'd. *Grotius* unties this knot: For the Im-
perative Mood (sayes he) in this place, or
(which is all one among the *Hebrews*) the Fu-
ture Tense, *Sensum tantum finendi habet*, doth
only signifie permission---Thou shalt, that is,
thou may'st work six dayes. I may add those
words are to be understood Hypothetically, that
is, thou shalt labour six dayes, if the Church
do not otherwise determine of any of those
dayes, for prayer, praises, or fasting: As many
universal propositions in Scripture, are to be un-
derstood in a particular and limited sence; so
many things absolutely spoken, are to be inter-
preted by way of supposition, as is evident in
Jonahs famous Sermon, concerning the de-
struction of *Nineveh*, such texts as seem perem-
tory, and to tye us up to what is injoynd in
them, must be understood in such a la-
titude, that they do not contradict other Scri-
ptures. As — *Take no care what you shall eat*,
that is, in comparison of the next World. And
these

those words——*Take no staves*, that is, to strike or fight withall; otherwise they are contrary to *Mark 6. 8. Take nothing save a staffe*, that is, to walk withal as Travellours.

Mat. 10. 2

20. Another offence you take at the Calendar is, some lessons are taken out of the Apocrypha. 'Tis true what *Jerom* sayes—*Librum Apocryphum Ecclesia non recepit*: Those Books are not looked upon as any part of Canonical Scripture: Their Authority is not to be depended upon, as to prove any Article of Faith, or to be a rule of that doctrine which is necessary to salvation. Yet who is ignorant, except those who never read those ancient Books, that therein are many excellent Lectures of morality, much conducing to the regulation of mens manners; though I will not commit Scripture with Scripture; nor compare the Apocrypha with any part of the Old and New Testament, yet I refer it to your own consideration, whether many Chapters in the Apocrypha may not seem to convey more of edification to the generality of people, than many abstruse genealogical Chapters in the Old Testament. I am sure our Saviour had an eye to this end, when in his quotations out of the Old Testament, he hath more regard to the reading of the Septuagint, than of the Original *Hebrew*; Because that was more common and better understood by his Auditours: And whether it was for this reason that the Author of the Epistle to the *Hebrews* Chap. 13. 25. quotes that place out of Apocrypha 2 *Maccab.* 7. 7. It deserves your second thoughts.

If you except against these Books, as of humane authority only, and therefore not to be

read in the Congregation; I demand of you, whether the Scriptures as divided into Chapters, and read in our translations, as also the Psalms sung in our metre and contents of Chapters are not so: neither is it any strange thing to read in the Church occasionally, even Books of humane composition, as well as *Clements* Epistles in the primitive times. But if all this will not reconcile your minds to our Calendar, prescribing some Chapters out of the Apocrypha, what follows methinks should more than satisfy any rational men, who are not pertinaciously resolv'd to lye under their own doubts and fears. Rather than lose your communion, and the execution of your Ministry upon this account, the Church is so indulgent, as in this matter, almost to leave you to your own liberty, I mean so far, as to exchange one Chapter for another, the Apocrypha for Canonical Scripture, as appears by the *Preface to the second part of the Book of Homilies*, O that there were such an heart in you! as to be suitably dispos'd (*Ruendo in occursum*) by meeting so tender a Mother in, complying with her innocent constitutions!

30. Some of you (for 'tis rare to find many of you in the same mind) have not much to say against the body of the Liturgy, were it left to your free will, to use, or not to use it, if Ministers that are heavy and unexperient'd might have the assistance of these crutches; but those that have more elevated parts and are men of activity, might be left to their own Legs. If such as have but barren inventions and stammering expressions might help themselves out with

with such a form, it would not be amiss: But to confine such as have pregnant heads and voluble tongues, within such bounds, that they must alwayes move in the same circle: This is little less than preventing their own growth and proficiency, by being staked down alwayes to their alphabet, and having their wings pinion'd; by this means the Talents of able men will be rapp'd up in a Napkin; the Church deprived of their gifts, and the Spirit quenched within them. What? must *Sauls head and shoulders be cut off, that he may be equal to his brethren?*

When I read, or hear such harrangs as these, I am prone to suspect, that these Seraphick Doctours (notwithstanding all their sublime Notions and refin'd pretences) are not well acquainted with the very essentials of prayer, or at least, have not those apprehensions of God (who is the only object of prayer) as they ought to have. Alas! Do we think to charm his ears, with a multiplicity of pompous words? or, think we that our prayers are the more acceptable to him, because they are presented to him every day in a new dress. — *Quis pulmo animæ*

prælargus Anhelat; because they are accented in some odd tone, and set off by some unusual looks.

God delights not in variety of phrases, nor rejects our desires, though tendered in the same words, *In oratione quantum verbis accedit, tantum spiritui decedit*, sayes the Casuist. The more intent we are upon words in prayer, the weaker is our spirit in praying: Though we pray in an old form, yet if we put forth new vigour of soul, our prayers shall be fresh every day; and not for that reason) be the less pre-

Every one
pride at
an affect
but spe
cially in
prayer.
Helder
Simon
Ps 51.
p. 310.
glossing
Eccles 5 1.
Ter. Bar 4.
in Mar. 26.
20 and
distract
in Exod.
21
Baldwin. P.
21.

valent since that God with whom we have to do, looks more after our *Hearts and Reins*, and those secret groans, which cannot be uttered (this is prayer indeed, *εὐρυμῆν* effectually wrought in us, by Gods own spirit) than after the froth of our lips, or cadency of our words.

— *In sacro quid facit aurum.* It was an Heathenish conceit that the smoak of their Incense burnt upon their Altars, and the savour of their Sacrifices did delight the Nostrils of their Gods. Let us come before him with humility, repentance, & steddy zeal, -- *Et farre litemus*: It matters not though our words be few and plain, though our prayers be short and repeated every day in the same numerical syllables, though our ears are so carnal, that they long & itch as much after change of sentences, as a wanton stomach doth after variety of meats; yet far be this from us, when we have to do with God. Our words may be the same, yet our prayers may be new: As he that read over *Virgil* several times, and alwayes observ'd a new fanlie in that Poet. But what necessity of any new strain of words? If God would grant me those petitions which are offered up to him in the Common-Prayers, I should account my self sufficiently happy: Although we are not so restrain'd, but upon occasions, *even in publick we may use our gifts, if there we be grave, modest, discreet and humble.* And here we have a Royal approbation of one that was the best Interpreter of the Law.

³Farey
B. 10. 1. 1. 1.

If men would study to undermine the very walls of *Zion*, and throw *Granado's* into the *Holy of Holies*, they could not find out a more
com-

compendious way than by bringing into the Church such a *Trojan Horse*, as this intollerable-tolleration in permitting every one to do what is good in his own eyes; if some Ministers should pray by Book, and others without, if some should observe the Rubrick, and others go by the Cards of their own distorted fancies; What Censuring? What condemning each other must inevitably follow hereupon? Look what the one did, must needs be a reproach and a defiance unto the other. He that reads will pass sentence upon him that reads not. As those Christians that were converted from Gentilisme and did eat all sorts of meats indifferently, *did judge and despise these judaizing converts*, who were more scrupulous, in abstaining from several sorts of meats: What casting of dirt (*I had almost said darts*) into one anothers faces would there be betwixt the Ministers of this and the next Parish? Methinks *I* here one say of the other——he is a legal, flat, hide-bound, flegmatick Parish-Priest: And the other replying (before the words are quite out of his mouth) that he who is so forward to brand his neighbour is a proud, daring, pragmatieal babler, evaporating crude, indigested and lame petitions, which he would be asham'd to offer unto his Prince. What will the people do in this case? *Scinditur in incertum*, &c. they are at best but *Sæpior minor* like *Proteus* turning into several shapes; they are as unstable as water; and therefore are compar'd in the *Revelation*, to floods and great waters which roar this way, and the other way, as they meet with impressions of several winds: They will hardly be kept within

*Ardet ad
huc Om-
bras, et
Tentys
summus
utring, in'e
furor popu-
lo, quod nu-
cains vici-
norum dit-
uterg; locu-
quam foios
credat ha-
bendat esse
door, quos
ipse est
summus.
Sæpior*

their own channels: They will *adhere to the one, and despise the other*; and like that rout *Acts 19.* Some will cry one thing some another; some will say such a Minister is a good man, no sayes his neighbour, *for he deceiveth the people.* The Sabbath day will be spent in counter-traversing the wayes from one Church to another. Here goes a troop of Male-contents from their own *Jerusalem unto Hiericho*; These have nice squeamish stomachs, that care not for solid meat, but cry out upon their daily Manna; therefore they are looking out for novelties and change of dyet which may suit better with their curious stomachs: Perhaps by the same way they meet as many that are weary of their running-banquets, and kickshaw dishes; these are looking out for *sincere milk*: They desire to worship God, not at the discretion of a single Minister, but in such a way as hath been approved of by *Synods, Convocations, Parliaments*, by the best Divines ancient and modern, at home and abroad, so that after the way which others (even those they met a little before) call *Superstition, Heresie, Idolatry*, so worship they the Lord God of their Fathers. Now what confusion is here like to be? especially since no discords swell higher, than those that are maintain'd by dissenters in Religion; and where Conscience (whether rightly inform'd, or deluded) is call'd in to abet the quarrel. In such cases there are *bella plusquam civilia*, inveterate, and irreconcilable jarrs, here a company of Guelphs, and yonder as many Gibelines. Several Congregations will be but as *York and Lancaster*, one to the other. Consider now my Brethren; whether

ther this motion of yours is like to come from the God of peace and order, from that spirit which sayes as much as possibly ye can, *live peaceably with all men* : As if the Apostle would have us to strain our selves, and not to stand upon gnats and petty provocations; that so we may preserve the bonds of peace. Doth this spirit prompt you to promote such courses which are like to crumble the Church and state into Atomes : And to break our *staves* into shivers ; both that of *beauty* and this of *bonds* ——— *Hæc itacus velit*, this is that which the common enemy watches for; such designs, though they fetch a compass about, yet in the conclusion will jump in and center with theirs.

Now you are so unkind to the Church and your own native Country, yet can you blame the supreme Magistrate, whom God hath appointed to be our nursing Father; and hath intrusted him with two swords, and with both the Tables of his Law ; if he seeing his Subjects rushing precipitantly, perniciously, as well as pertinaciously, upon the point of their own ruine, does interpose his Authority and restrain them, by setting them bounds which they shall not pass.

But I have heard some pleading very vehemently (who would not seem inconsiderable persons. That in point of policy, those that are in authority should allow liberty in indifferent things : For this say they would content the people and tend to their own preservation. Thus we are ready to prescribe to our Superiours, and are more apt to teach them, than to learn our own duty. We can tell others what they should do

*THOMAS
BROMHALL.
P. 293.
202.*

*Bishop
Bromhalls
Answer
to Dr La-
melaire
P. 128.
Luther*

do in policy; but we are defective, in that obedience, which we our selves ought to perform in Conscience; our soveraign hath learn'd better divinity from his Royal Father, whose memory is blessed and sweet. He hath taught him, *not to abet any factions in any publick discrimination of Religions, contrary to his own judgment, or to gratifie a faction with the perturbation of the Laws, in which is wrapt up the publick interest, and the good of the community.* It seems by the carriage of these men, the King may yield to them if he please, but they will not submit to him, though it be in things (in their own apprehension) indifferent. And herein they declare their non-submission to God himself, who hath commanded obedience unto Kings (at least) in things of this nature: Such persons would have the King confirm the Atheists objection; to wit that religion is nothing else but an act of policy, though such who are best vers'd in Christian policy, have thought — *That a needless alteration doth but diminish the venerable esteem of Religion and lessen the credit of ancient truths: Break the ice in one place, it will crack in more. Semel violatâ Ecclesia concordia, non est finis, neque modus deffectionis.*

30. Yet you are not satisfied what will become of your parts if a form be injoynd? what? must they be suppress'd? must swift dromedaries be kept in, and march at the rate of Snails? Well, 'tis granted that parts are very necessary for the Ministers of the Gospel, when they are rightly imploy'd, and not like fire in the thatch: Learning in such heads, as know not how to
weild

would it doth but make men the more dangerous Hereticks, and cursed incendiaries. Let it be supposed too, that you are the only men of parts, the Cedars in our *Lebanon*: That we are Grasshoppers, shrubs, and Ignoramuses in comparison of you; yet will you disdain to take us along with you? Good-natur'd children, though some of them be of riper yeares, will take their younger Brothers and Sisters by their hands, and and not run away from them. No doubt but among *Jacobs* cattle, some were vigorous, and activer than others, yet he draw's them all softly, and top'd the formost of them that they might make up one drove. So *Marins* march'd *quadrato agmine*, in Rank and File: and though some of his Souldiers might be more nimble of foot than the rest, yet he was not so raw a General, as not to discipline his Army, by keeping them together.

40. But if there must be a form of prayer, why is it not continued into our prayer, as in the reformed Churches abroad? Why is it parcell'd into so many scraps, and written in such a *Lyp-sian* style.

I see you are resolved to dispute, and condemn every thing, wherein your own hands have not been employed. Had you been so happy as to have been amongst those Church-Heroes who compil'd the Liturgy, you might have directed them to have drawn it up in a far better manner; but consider who they were that said it. *If we had been in the dayes of our fore-Fathers, we would not have been partakers with them in the blood of the Prophets; you know who said it.* O

that Mat. 23.
37.

that I were made a Judge in the Land, that every
 2 Sam. 15. man who hath any suit or cause might come unto me.

4. * Think of that voice which Luther heard, when he was troubled about some passages of Gods Providence, and thought with himself, that they might have been ordered better. *Martine ! Martine ! in valde sapis, sed ego non sum Deus sequax. Martin Luther ! Thou art very wise but God is not at thy beck.* This correction did so humble Luther, and made him so tractable to Gods will, that when Melancton was troubled at the affairs of the Church——He wrote to him not to trouble himself with the Government of the world. *Brithwald* Bishop of Winchester, was troubled in like manner at the expiring of the blood Royal, and he received a like answer——*Regnum Anglie, Regnum Dei——The Kingdom of England is Gods in a special manner, and he will take care that it shall not want a King.* Such as have been too pragmatikal, beyond the tether of their proper places and callings, deserve a check from God ; and are as it were, so many Anomala's from men.

Goodwin
 of the lives
 of the Bi-
 shops.

Were I so fond of my own judgment, as to lay it in the other end of the ballance, against the determinations of the Church ; so as to conclude with my self, that I could have mended the form of our prayers in any particular (as that blasphemous wretch said, had he stood at Gods elbow, when he made the World he could have told him how to have made it better) I should suspect such a daring thought, as the spawn and injection of the old Serpent : For though I will not captivate my understanding to any mans

Ipsē dixit; or suffer my self to be led away by an *implicit Faith*, much less inbrace the Religion of such as are uppermost, though it be *Turcissime* it self; which is as monstrous a doctrine, as the Title of the Book which holds it forth: Yet in matters of discipline, order, Government, manner of Worship, where nothing is obtruded contrary to the word of God, I desire to submit to the wills, and to acquiesce in the commands of my Governours. And though I were so Eagle-ey'd, as to discern defects in our Church offices (for it pretends not to be absolute, as appears by the Preface before the Communion) so they were consistent with piety; I would not go about to make a rupture in the Church, and stand aloof off from her communion, unless I might be gratifi'd, in having that amended, which perhaps some ill humours, or perturbations in my own eyes, represent unto me to be amiss. For as the *Eastern Proverb* tells us — though many things which I want are dear, yet patience is cheap. So though what I would have, may seem to me of great consequence; yet the peace and welfare of the Church are farre greater. Those words are very severe where-ever they fall: It may, their impression may be the deeper, when you know the Author —

Schismaticks have light heels, and lighter heads, that run first out of their wits, and then out of the Church; because it runs not on the giddy wheels of their vertiginous fancies. Such as are busie-bodies, in putting their hooks into other mens Corn, and meddling in other mens Provinces, especially in prescribing to their Rulers, they

Mr Merle
on Christs
passion &
207.

are but *Idle persons*. Saint Paul will salve the contradiction : He calls the same persons *busybodies*, and *Idle too*, 1 Tim. 5. 13.

But is it such an unpardonable fault in our prayers that many of them are short? What think you of ejaculations, are not they prayers? and commonly the most fervent : There is most of a spiritual *Impetus* exerted in them : (as those that have but a short race to run, their strength serves them to run the faster) And is it not belonging to their very nature to be short? What think you of all the prayers mention'd in Scripture? were not *Moses*, *Hezekiah*, *David*, *Daniel*, nay Christ himself as able as any of us, to lengthen out their prayers? yet where have they left us any pattern upon Record? of prolix protracted; and voluminous prayers? except you will say the Book of the Psalms are so. But then why do you sit at the reading of them? Is that a seemly posture for prayer, and praises? we read that *Paul* and *Silas* pray'd at midnight; Saint Paul preach'd until midnight *Acts* 20. 7. but I find none praying so long together. That prayer of our Saviours *Jo.* 1. 7. is the longest I can think on at present. Yet though I read no long prayers in Scripture, I read of them but with a sharp spit, or black brand before them in three of the Evangelists : *Wo unto you Scribes, Pharisees, Hypocrites, for you devour Widows houses, and for pretence make long prayers* : Or as some read it — *Simulantes orationem longam*: Not praying long, but fainting and counterfeiting the doing so. That under the pretence of a long grace they might eat the greater dinner, in swallowing

Widows

Widows houses at a bitt : Widows houses did I say ? I wish that some under this pretence, had not thought to have taken *the houses of God into possession* ; had not the gobbets been too hard of digestion ; had not the great *Paterfamilias* and Land-Lord of these houses, granted *Dauids* imprecation against such sacrilegious cormorants — *O my God ! make them like unto a wheele !* that is ; making them so giddy, that they let go their hold.

If we came with a good stomach, I mean with such a Christian appetite, and disposition of soul, as we ought to do, when we joyn together in prayer ; the shortness would not offend us, but rather prevent that tediousness, which is too incident to our flesh and blood, in our devotions, and a means to make them new, fresh, and vigorous, at every period. As after *Moses* had been praying in the Mount, his hands began to be heavy ; had not *Aaron* and *Hur* held them up. Exod. 17. It is not so easie (as some account it) to wind up the soul to an heavenly pitch, and to keep it at that bent for any duration of time ; Sure I am, the best of Gods people have complain'd of coolings, slacknings, and distractions in this case ; and after their prayers, could even have cast stones at themselves, and beat upon their own breasts, when they have reflected upon their languishing devotions. Therefore the shortness of our prayers, and the peoples responses are so many helps to our infirmities ; as so much Cork or as so many bladders to keep us from sinking into the Gulph, or dead sea of a lither, and dull kind of oseitancy. Then we have

Have time to pause, and take breath with *Sampson* to check our selves, or with the *Cocks* to clap our wings, that so with the greater alacrity and activity of spirit we may fall on again.

Bishop *Gauden* thought it most heavenly music (when he preach'd at the Temple) to hear the unanimous Answers of that honorable Assembly, every one bearing a part in the publick prayers; this is *ἀναστροφή* (in the Apostles language (to inflame one the other with fire from heaven. When prayers are continued into an extraordinary length, it falls out many times, as when Saint *Paul* was long a preaching, some like *Eutychus* will fall into a deep sleep until they be taken up for dead.

Act. 2. 9.

As for our being just the same with other Churches abroad in every punctilio; it can neither be expected by them. nor performed by us. We allow them their Christian liberty, without censuring them for that. Wherein they differ from us in circumstantialia; and those that have been even pillars amongst them, have been at their *Dabimusque vicissim*. They have not only commended, but have wished for the same discipline and manner of worship amongst themselves, were it consistent with the condition of their affairs.

Dr. Pride-
aux.

Were I in some forraign Church said the learned Bishop of *Worcester* (I heard it from his own mouth) where it were the custom to kneel at the Creed, I would conform to that Church; & shall

NOT

not we condescend to the practises of our own Church, which are both lawful, and warranted by the best authority of the Nation? That our prayers are lawful appears by some of your own concessions: For you say, you should not be against them, were they joyned in one: whereas *Magis* and *Minus* vary not the species of any thing; so neither doth the length, or shortness of it. A short line is a line as well as a long one; only the length of things many times, doth but dwindle them into weakness, as plate, the more 'tis beaten out the thinner it is, and rarification in nature swells the same matter into a greater bulk, but withall impairs its strength. There is more worth in a Diamond, than in a whole Mountain of rubbish-stone. The less the eye is, the sharper the sight: And in the little compacted heart of a Lyon there is most of boldness, and courage. Nature is *maxima in minimis*, it shews most of its skill in things of smallest quantity, or (as Saint *Austin*) *Deus non parvus in parvis*, Gods wisdom and power are not small in the smallest things.

—*Major in exiguo Regnabit et poro virtus*—

The Greek proverb also is often too true—
'*Αυτομαχός*. And may not the *Publicans* short prayer, Lord be merciful to me a sinner! be more massie, and effectual, than the bablings of the long winded *Pharisee*.

This objection is more unreasonable yet: for as 'tis said of the Scriptures, There are depths for the *Elephant* to swim, and fords for the

Lambs to wade: Some things so mysterious that they may puzzle the most subtle and angelical Doctors; some things so plain; that a novice may *run and read* them: Milk for babes, and stronger meat for men of riper years. So in our Liturgy. There are some prayers more concise in consideration of our infirmities, which are apt to tire in running a longer race of devotions; and there are others more large, as that for the Catholick Church, &c. to exercise their more Eagle-like wings; who are able to soar higher, or fetch a wider compass without resting, or pausing by the way.

I read indeed of *Nazianzene* and *Basil*, that they fasted so long, until they became so many skeletons. And Saint *Bernard* did pray so much night and day, *donec genus sustinere Corpus non possent*, until he was not able to go, until his knees as *Eusebius* saith of Saint *James*, were like those of Elephants. Here was *Nimietas Sancti fervoris*, an immoderate zeal overflowing all banks, without any judicious timing of what is sacred. God would not have us to Sacrifice our selves in the Letter, but in the Allegory, by offering him a *reasonable service*: As we must not eat untill we nauseate our meat, but give off with an appetite; so our God expects not that we should pray untill we surfeit with an Honeycomb, and make the exercise of Religion a very drudgery, like rowing in a Gally; He knows better whereof we are made. There were a company of praying Hereticks in former ages, who abused those words of the Apostle, *pray alwayes*. Religion was never intended to oppress the spi-

Est discretio non tam virtus quam quædam Auriga & moderat in virtutum.
Bernard
Ser. 49. in Cant.

Spirits of men; but to refresh and ravish them
 — *Ut famelici ad delicias conveniamus*; that we
 may still be longing to appear before the presence
 of God. *Fervor discretionem erigat, & discretio fervorem Regat.* Our zeal must excite our Judgment,
 and our Judgment must moderate our zeal. Bernard
Sct. 23. in
Cant.

50 I find that the Commissioners chosen out
 of your selves, to treat about the Common-
 Prayers, at the Savoy, have propos'd an altera-
 tion of several passages: And I find that your
 requests are gratifi'd in several particulars; such
 as were back'd with any shew of reason: As in the
 offices of Marriage, Churching of Women, Bu-
 rial, and in the declaration of the ground of
 kneeling at the Sacrament, and in other instan-
 ces. Now who would have thought but good-
 natur'd men should have come some few steps
 towards an happy accommodation? Yet you
 stand like so many marble pillars, without
 moving one foot; as if you were resolv'd (after
 all these concessions) not to abate the least pun-
 ctilio. Let the Church sink or swim; if you
 may not have your wills. As *David* said of his
 dead child, I shall go to him, but he shall not
 return to me. So we may say -- we may come to
 you, but you will not move towards us. Which
 calls to mind the like disposition in some of your
 persuasion, who came to Queen *Elizabeth* and
 petition'd to be dispens'd withall concerning
 the Cross: The Queen readily granted their
 request, upon condition they would yeild obedi-
 ence to other things: But at last they told her
 plainly, *they would not leave so much as a hoof
 behind.* How came the same spirit into you from
 them?

See Dr.
Jo. Burges.

them? or how came the spirit in those members which once sat at Westminster. First, they must have *Straffords* blood, and one would have thought that Sacrifice should have aton'd and asswag'd all growing fears; but afterwards they must have a Triennial Parliament. Yet all this was nothing, they must have the Militia too. Thus it was with them, and it is with you, one concession (as it is in victories) is but *Gradus futurae*, a step to another. you see what slender hopes of condescension you afford as on your parts.

60. It is not my purpose to write a rationale upon the body of the Liturgy, or to anatomise it in its several parts. That's performed already by more dextrous hands. As Christ told the Glutton, desiring that one might be sent to his Brethren, to forewarn them, that they came not into that place of torment: *They had Moses and the Prophets. If they would not hearken to them; neither would they beleive, though one should rise from the dead.* So you have *Hooker, Hammond, &c.* If these can get no audience, what shall he do *that comes after the King*? If an Apostle should rise out of his Grave, or an Angel drop from Heaven, and assure you that you may lawfully use the Common-prayers; I much question whether some of you would believe them.

Yet your objections against our prayers are so light, thin, and scanty, that I cannot find any rational man; to insist upon them, as so momentous, or Tanta-Mount, as to justify their non-

compliance with them here, or dare trust their power, to shield them from the Articles and cross interrogatories of a greater Bishop, at another day of visitation: Therefore most of you are like *Squerrils* skipping from one thing to another as if you were afraid to stand your ground, or trust to any of your Forts: Like sick men, tumbling now on this side, now on that. Would you pitch upon any particulars in our prayers, and say — *Hic figo baculum* — *Hic murus Abenem* — pointing at those things in them, which are absolutely sinful, and which will wound Conscience, regulated by the word of God: Then you must either be answered, or else we must desist from our practice: for *we cannot do so great wickedness and sin against God*. But where's the Champion, that enter'd these lists? If there hath been any who hath not received sufficient answers, I must profess my own ignorance.

Porphyry and *Julian* found many things in the Scriptures to cavil at, and open their mouths wide against. But who thinks the worse of those Luminaries, the Prophets and Apostles, because such dogs bark'd at them? And if the Divine Oracles have been expos'd to such *Panthers*; what wonder is it that what is of humane composition, though never so exactly fram'd, be carp'd at by *Aristarchus* his off-spring.

I remember some yeares since a form of prayer of your own modelling peep'd out into the World, and it was damnd by many of yourselves, before it had wip'd off the sweat of the press, whereas ours hath stood out against the

tempests and shakings of virulent tongues, for many yeares. (I had almost said ages) And were men but so ingenious to promote a peaceable order in the Church, as they are watchful to find knots in bulrushes, and to torture their brains to find scruples in what is most plain; they might without any startling, or affrightments, apply themselves to a conscionable use of the same. Strange! that men should be so jealous, that a Serpent should lurk under every leaf. As if our Governours and Fathers were so unnatural as to give us scorpions instead of eggs: lay trains to blow us up: Rats-bane to poyson us, and gins to ensnare us. Had we but a due latitude of Candour, and charity towards others, or understood our own happinefs *That we may take things in the Lyturgy, in the best sense we can*: As King James declar'd at the conference at *Hampton Court*: and is still to be suppos'd, that the same liberty is virtually allow'd by our Gracious Sovereign: Sure these billows, and waves would cease roaring.

Dr. Sparks
p. 58.

C H A P. IX.

Concerning the Salvation of Infants dying after Baptiſm.

THE poſition concerning Children Baptiz'd — *That if they dye before actual ſin committed they ſhall be undoubtedly ſav'd*, doth much offend you though 'tis no part of the Lyturgy, injoyn'd to be read at any time. But ſome of you ſay 'tis ſuch a doctrine as is purpoſely ſet down, to bring in *Pelagianiſm, Arminianiſm, Popery* and I know not what.

Thus you are ſtill afraid of ſhadows, and by your active fancies frame ſuch chymera's of danger, which have no footing in nature. That this aſſertion is no new invention, or addition of our times, Dr. *Ward* will inform you: who affirms that it was anciently ſet down in the Rubrick before confirmation: And he doth as ſoundly prove in the ſame place---that Infants Baptized are without doubt juſtified, and if juſtified, then they ſhall be alſo glorified: for the Apoſtle will by no means ſever theſe two, and I hope you will not ſay; this grave and eminent Divine was either *Pelagian, Arminian* or *Papiſt*. I hope you have the like charity for Biſhop *Davenant*; yet he will tell you that *the guilt of Original ſin is preſently taken away in Baptiſm: though the contagion of it remains and dyes by parcels.*

In his determination p. 50.

Rom. 8. 30

De Juſtificationis Habitu. ali Cap. 7. p. 233.

And

*Class. se-
cunda p.
123.*

*Apologia
adversus
Rufinum,
p. 212*

And if the guilt, or damning power of sin be taken away, sure such Infants as dye before they have contracted any new guilt, shall not be damned; and will it not necessarily follow then that they shall be saved? Except you will maintain a third place, *A limbus Infantum*, betwixt both. This Doctrine was part of *Luthers Creed*. I beleive sayes he, that Infants Baptized, *si in prima etate extincti sint, salvatos esse*. And long before him, *Saint Jerome* tells us; *Vetus Adam in lavacro totus moritur, novus cum Christo suscitatur in Baptismate. Perit choicus nascitur super Cælestis*. Shall such as are Baptiz'd be buried, and rise again with Christ; and shall they not ascend into Heaven after him, *Col. 2. 12*.

But pray tell me; was there not a reason, that this part of Catholick Doctrine, should be reviv'd? was not Baptism too much vilified in your dayes? not only in the bold administration of it, by those who were never lawfully ordained and appointed thereunto: But also by a cursed indifferency, whereby many persons began to be careless of water-Baptism, as they call'd it, as if at best it did but serve as the marking an Horse for a Common; as if it were an empty sign without a seal: Was it not time then to vindicate the power and efficacy of this blessed Sacrament from such incroachments? and to rub off this moss which was growing over it? As *Saint Paul* magnified his office most, and gloried in his education, sufferings, visions, when impostors and false

Brc-
L. 11

Brethren went about to debase him. The Primitive Christians put the cross into their Banners, and made a shew of it openly, when the Heathens did most of all reproach it. As if by a kind of an Antiperistasis ' other mens scorn did but adde to their honourable esteem of it. This I take to be the reason, why the Ancients are so voluminous against Heathen - Worship, and such Hereticks as deprav'd the Doctrine of the Trinity, and say so little concerning our differences with the Papists, or among our selves; because that kind of Idolatry did most infect and assault the Church, and these controversies were not yet brought forth by Satans, Mid-wifery in those dayes.

Object. But if Infants dying after Baptism are saved, then those that dye before Baptism are damned.

Sol. Here is a desperate sequele: There's nothing in our Articles of Religion, Canons, or Lyturgy to make it good; no such *duri pares Infantum* in our Church. What though Baptism be the ordinary means of salvation? Yet who ever affirm'd that God is a Physical Agent, or tyed him up to the use of means? Such secrets we leave to the Lord who acts most freely, and graciously. We are so farre from passing sentence on poor Infants dying without Baptism, that we are ready to say with *Calvin*: If none can be saved but such as are Baptised, *Necesse erit Retrabi latronem de Regno Dei*: The Thief must be thrown out of Paradise.

C H A P. X.

Now Infants are Regenerated in Baptism.

HAd those two or three lines concerning the salvation of Infants been left out, yet you would have been as angry, so long as the word Regenerate is retained in this service; although the words immediately following — *And grafted into the body of Christ's Church,* — and again — *Incorporated into the holy Church,* — may seem to such as are peaceable, and willing to take things in the most candid sence, to import no more, but that by Baptism a dore is opened into the Church, and we thereby inroll'd into the *Album*, or blessed Register, of Gods people: accounted in the number of the *μαμαδτουμένην* such as are disciples for the Kingdom of Heaven, and so distinguish'd from other Nations of the World or if you would but have the patience to take a distinction along with you, it might prove a *Salvo* to this doubt.

Dr. John
Burgess on
Baptismal
regeneration.

Actual regeneration is when we come to yeares of understanding: But 'tis no absurdity to say -- that such as are Baptized, are regenerated with *Potential, Habitual, Passive, or Initial* Regeneration, which takes away the guilt of Original-sin: These are *Regenerate à u pri-mo*, in that the seed of regenerating grace is sown

sown and planted in their hearts; but not in *Actu secundo*, until they be in a condition of bringing forth the fruit thereof. As Infants have a rational soul, but exercise not any rational acts, untill some yeares have pass'd over their heads. Hence it is that Baptism is call'd the *washing of Regeneration*, and is also compared to *Noahs Ark*, because it saves us from the deluge of Gods wrath, by waisting and transplanting us into the Harbour of Christs death, or as the Apostle speaks, *Baptizing us into one body*. This is the meaning of that Prophecy from the mouth of *John the Baptist*, *He shall Baptise you with the Holy Ghost and with fire*. Not as if the whole efficacy of Baptism did shew it self, when 'tis administred, but some then, some afterwards: In this sense I understand *Basil the great* — *The whole life of man is the time of Baptism*, that is, to shew forth its energetical vertue in. The Ancients are full in asserting the power of Baptisme; they call such as are Baptiz'd *πρωτισμένοις* such as were illuminated from above. *Ἀξύνται τὰ βρέφη* the very Infants are influenced with the grace of Baptism. And *Cyril of Jerusalem* advertis'd such as came to be Baptized, that they did not come *λίτῳ τῷ λυτρῷ*, to naked water, but together with the water, *τῇ διδωμένῃ πνευματικῇ χάριτι*. And Saint *Jerome* calls it *Secundam Nativitatem*, our second birth. Therefore *Constantine* thought himself so happy when Baptized, that when others wished him a longer life, he thought himself then to have attained true life, and so was willing then to sing his *Nunc dimittis*, before

Tit. 35.
1 Pet. 30.
21.

1 Cor. 12.
13.

Mat. 3. 11.

*Καὶ ὁ
βαπτίζου-
σα ἡ
ἐν ὕδατι
πῶς βί-
β. 187.*

*Iustin
Martyr
p. 424.
p. 16.
Epist ad
Geroniam
p. 91.*

*Eusebius
p. 168.
Epist 23.*

he

he had committed any after sins. I shall here conclude with the words of Saint *Austin*—
As for those that are not contentious, this answer is sufficient ; but to those that are peaceable and ingenious this is more than enough.

CHAP.

CHAP. XI.

Concerning God-Fathers and God-Mothers.

THat scruple about God-Fathers and God-Mothers, I am even ashamed to mention: For though there is not the same necessity now as when Heathenism was more rife; yet how can a Covenant be well entred into without some *Sponsors*? How might this Church-ordinance (not to speak of those texts of Scripture which may seem to countenance it) contribute towards the vertuous education of Children, especially where Parents are either dead or negligent, were the first institution hereof rightly observ'd; and did these stipulators, or sponors, conscionably perform their duties and promises. But we are still apt to accuse and traduce the usages of the Church, when the fault is in our selves. We are most of us for Infant Baptism, yet we grudge that these tender babes should be brought upon other mens feet (and as Saint *Austin* goes on) that they should make confession by other mens mouths; though when they come to age, the obligation lies wholly upon themselves. This exception is the more unreasonable, when we consider the reasons brought to enforce it. As

10. They must renounce the devil and all his works, this troubles them. But can any Christian doubt or demur about this? May not I say

I Kings
I. 21.

say what *Eliab* said--How long halt ye between two opinions. If the Lord be God follow him; but if *Baal* (I may add if the Devil.) follow him. For my own part (what Saint *Basil* sayes was customary at Baptism) I do ~~Avow~~ spit at and defie the devil and all his works. But I find there are three things you much boggle at the renouncing. First the Devil. Secondly, War against the King. Thirdly, the Covenant.

20. You are afraid to attribute too much to your own strength, by promising what you are not able to perform. Whereas both the Catechism and Lyturgy have professedly provided against this fear: for the Catechumen sayes,--*He will do as his God-Fathers promised—by the help of God—* And after those solemn promises (to shew that our ability is from above) the Minister prayes—*Grant that he may have power and strength, to have victory, and to triumph against the Devil, the World and the flesh.* Why do you not direct this plea against Saint Peter, commanding us--*to resist the devil, as well as against our practise?*

CHAP.

CHAP. XII.

*No good Christian need be offended at the
Cross in Baptism.*

THE terrible Ghosts which haunts our Fonts, and affrights you from our Baptismal form, is the Cross; yet if you would but consult the thirtieth Canon (whether you are referred) this *spectrum* would loose its vizard: For there 'tis declar'd to be no part of Baptism at all. therefore in our private Baptism 'tis not injoyned. — *Strain no more at gnats, and we shall agree.* What though the Cross is abus'd by the Papists? Make it good if you can, that therefore we may not use it; for so we should not look up to the Sun and Moon, nor warm our selves by the fire, because some of the Heathens have ador'd them. That influence of the Brazen *Serpent* being destroyed by *Hezekiah*, carries *Bellerophons* letters along with it, I mean its own confutation: Mark this was done by the King, by *Hezekiah*. You well know there is great difference betwixt the Papists using the Cross and ours: they before, we after Baptism they, as an *Operative* rite to expell the devil; we only as that which signifies and puts us in mind of Christ crucified, and that we are not ashamed of a crucified Saviour; and this not *Sacramentally* (for we own but two) but *Morally*. You think it no superstition to tye a string about a child

child's finger to put him in mind of his errand: I am sure I have many profitable and wholsom thoughts suggested to me from the picture of death which hangs in my study before my eyes. We are not so spiritual as to stand in no need of visible Hieroglyphicks. Some Christians in the *Indies* were so much convine'd of the usefulness of the Cross, that they caused it to be burnt with an hot iron in the foreheads of their children. That as the *Jews* had their *Phylacteries* upon their Garments, so these carried about the badge of their profession upon their faces.

*Polydore.
Virgil.
p. 450*

It were easie to mind you what opinion *Constantine* had of the Cross, and how good *Theodosius* forbade this sign to be engraven on the Earth, or Marble--- *Ne hominum pedibus tereretur*, lest men should trample upon't.

I cannot but commend that *Italian Friar*, who preaching concerning the Cross, held it up and kissed it; yet afterwards, to shew he did not idolize it, he brake it to pieces.

You cry out indeed upon significant ceremonies, as if presently they were Sacraments: as if a Sign were both the *genus* and *differentia*, constituting the essence and definition of a Sacrament: By the same Logick I have heard a punie Sophister proving a Man to be an Ass, because he is animal. But to me a Ceremony would be of no use at all, if it were not significant and according to the Apostles rule, in its kind, tending to edification. Sure none are so gross, as to think we maintain any *Jewish* rites, signs of Christ

Christ to come in the flesh, which were all consummated, and abolish'd at the birth and death of Christ. This is such a charge as that was against the primitive Christians—that they worshipp'd an Asses head, and eat their own children.

As for the Cross which is called *Transient*, wherewith men cross themselves upon occasions, I find Mr. Perkins acknowledging it, in the purest times of the Church. And Saint Jerome gives advise and direction, to a young woman, that she might the beter avoid the temptations of the unclean spirit, and live a chaste Virgin life *ut Crebro signaculo crucis frontem muniret*, and the Christian Poet Prudentius treads in the very same steps.

Perkins
prob.

Ad demo-
tridem.
p. 67,
p. 46.

*Fac cum vocante somno castum petis cubile
Frontem, locumq; Cordis, Crucis figura
Signes : Crux pellit omne crimen.*

And whether Christians are not still prone upon emergent dangers, and affrightments, to renew the same practise; if others were silent, I could give an experimental testimony : And if as Mr Baxter tells us—the very naming the words *Jesus Christ*, hath droven away Witches and Devils; why should it be thought incredible, that this sign which puts us in mind of Christ crucified, and may occasion our prayers to him, may not do the like? I know you will blow away all this with that common blast of Inchantment and Popery. But methinks since 'tis most plain, the Cross was us'd in the Church, when there was

no such thing as *Papery* heard of in the World,
it should be clear'd from that aspersion: for
proof hereof, we have the evidence of *Ter-*
tullian de Resurrec. Carnis, Origen, Homil. 8.
Cyprian Epist. 70. 72, 73. Jerom de Hillarione
p. 241. 245.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIII.

*It is no enormity to have Ceremonies about
Gods worship.*

AS for the other Rites and Ceremonies retained in our Church, which are as few as in any Church in the Christian world: were you at the stern dictating to us the Ideas of your own heads, I nothing doubt but we should have more circumstances in Gods worship than now we have; but perhaps, neither so apposite, nor ancient, as these we have already. I pray, wherein are these contrary to Gods word, or declared to be any part of Gods worship? or taught for doctrine? They are neither the meat nor sauce of Religion, but only as the garnish of the dish, to use the words of a reverend Bishop. They are indifferent (you yield) in their own natures; we say so too: Neither doth the injoyning of them alter their intrinsic condition, but only as to their outward use we are not so free to use or not to use them, as we were before; As those things mentioned

Acts 15. were some of them lawful in themselves to be used or forborn; yet after the Synode had determined the controversies about

Cultus divinus non potest esse sine ceremonijs, licet Ceremonie non sint pars cultus. Bald. 1138.

Bishop Gauden in his preface to Bishop Brownrigs Sermons.

Si res agatur non modo frivola sed etiam iniqua, quod nuda delictum adferunt, tamen si pater aut Magister prescripserit id faciendum est. Camer. de Eccl. p. 370. Epist. 120.

those indifferent things, then they are called necessary *vers.* 28. of that Chapter.

That good man Bishop Hooper did for a time scruple the Surplice; but after that *Bucer*, *Peter Martyr* and *Calvin* in an Epistle of his had discovered his weakness unto him, he was not so tenacious of his own conceit, but he yielded to preach in his Episcopal habit before the King.

Book of
Martyrs.
p. 1367.

*Consentia
obligatur
pceptis
Ecclesie
(ij) que
spectant ad
ordinem
ad viranda
secula
(ij) indire
de quan-
quam eorum
materia
non est in
verbo Dei,
tamen sunt
bona, est.
Camera de
Ecl. p.
371.*

If you shall still say, these things are indifferent as to their use, after they are commanded; 'tis all one as if you should say, 'tis indifferent whether we obey the King; nay whether we obey God, who commands obedience to the King.

Since God hath left us such a latitude to our Superiours of setting things in order in the Church, and determining what is decent, so long as they intrench not upon divine Authority, and so by consequence wound not the Consciences of men; wherein shall we manifest our obedience unto them? (As King *James* was wont to say) if not in things of this inferiour nature: Especially where they are so suitable, that good men would not refuse them, were they left to their own choice; as to kneel at prayer or at the Sacrament, which is delivered by the Minister praying: To stand at the Creed, and Gospel, to shew that we will stand for the maintenance of them both: To stand at Praises, Hymns, Songs of Thanksgiving (which are branches of prayer) and at that lesser Creed, *Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, &c.* Must not God be served with our bodies as well as

our

our souls? Can those that serve him in spirit choose to express the zeal of their hearts in the reverential postures of their bodies? As out of *the abundance of the heart the mouth speaks*; so where there is the heavenly fire of true devotions in the pantings and regular motions of the Soul, there it will sparkle out at the eyes, break out at the knees, elevate the hands, and put the whole body into such a frame, that it will keep time with those secret wheels and floatings of the soul. Inward and outward worship are but the integral parts making up the same worship; one without the other is but lame, imperfect, defective. *The body without the spirit is dead*; and spirit without the body is but a meagre ghost. Bodily service without the actings of the soul is but hypocrisy; and these without the other, are oftentimes a spiritual delusion. Though God calls for the heart, will he have nothing else? Though we must worship him in *Spirit*, must not he be worshiped too *in truth*? because some superstitious persons lay the greatest stress of Gods service upon bodily adorations, must we place none at all therein, lest we should be accounted superstitious? Will a wise man forsake his meat, because a fool calls it by some ugly nick-name? When I see men rude, careless, slovenly, inflexible like statues, in Gods service, am I uncharitable in judging their offerings to come from a cold Altar; and to be no better than dead sacrifices. Learned men tell us — that *προσκύνησις* which signifies Gods worship comes from *κύων* a dog, because as a dog, crouches to his Master, so must we humble our selves in our devout addresses unto God. I find *Abraham*

Livia.
l. 3.

falling on his face and worshipping God before the Law : And I find the Heathen-Romans, by the very light of nature, sweeping their Temples with the hair of their heads, in their applications to their Gods. And shall not we give God that respect which we would give to some noble personage, or earthly Prince ? Go and offer it to thy Prince, was once an Ironical check ; and may not God still use the same sarcasm ? expostulating with as much bitterness : would you carry your selves so unmannerly, if you were either to petition for, or receive a favour from the hands of a King.

Mr. Torshei
on Mal. i.
7.

Baldwin.
P. 174.

There is less danger in superstition, overvaluing Gods worship, than in profaneness : I must refer you to my Authors in the Margin, else I shall bear the blame. The exercise of true piety lies in external worship, and this is called Religion ἡ εὐσέβεια.

Hence it is that *Salvian* so sadly complains — *Minori Reverentia introimus templum* — we shew less respect in Gods house, than we would in a Judges Hall. Or we go with as little reverence (sayes the Martyr'd Arch-Bishop) into the Temple, as a Tinker and his dog into an Alehouse.

Were our Church cumbred, and even oppress'd with so pompous, liveless and numerous train of Ceremonies, as that of the Church of Rome, which might either distract, or divert our devotions : Were it with us, as Saint Jerome sayes it was per totas Orientis Ecclesias throughout all the Eastern Churches, they read the Gospel, Candles were lighted the Sun shined most brightly, to testify the

Adversus
origen. l. 1.
c. 121

ness of their joy; then you had more colourable pretences for your complaints.

But since ours are so few; and so fitted to persons and things; I wish you would rather submit, and comply with us, than carp and dispute. Shew us less of your morose criticisms, and scrupulosities; but more of your kindly obedience. You say 'tis better *to obey God than men*; I say so too, where the commands of men interfere with the commands of God: But in this case I must assent (until you can convince me of the contrary) that those men cannot obey God, that herein do not obey men, that is, such as are *set over them in the Lord*.

There is one particular, which doth not a little trouble you, either to behold in others, or make use of your selves, and that is the Surplice, though it be the very badge of innocency and purity it self, even the figure of that angellicall cloathing wherewith we expect to be apparelled in glory; or if you will, it may put us in mind of our winding-sheets: Hence it was, that the *Queen of France after the death of her Husband, went clad in white*; yet (for all this) it cannot escape your censorious rod: you do allow (as it appears by your practise) a distinction of Ministers from other men in ordinary habit; therefore you condescend to wear blacks, except some of you (who in these dayes of Apostacy) for what reason you know best) who have transform'd your selves into an habit as varigated and speckled as *Jacobs Sheep*: The lightness of your dress resembling your fancies, as if you affected to be great divines in *Querpo*.

*Polydore
Virgil p.
547.*

So that 'tis as hard to find you out by your Apparel, as 'tis to discern the *Romish Priests* and *Jesuits*. And good reason, for otherwise the deluded people would scarcely believe your cry of persecution. Yet though many of you are for a distinction of ordinary garments, you will not allow the same in *Sacris*. Although (what was said of the Cross before) this ornament was used in the Church, before any Bishop in the world challeng'd an universal head-ship and jurisdiction over the rest. Neither is the *Popish Albe*, according to the form of our Surplice, or any way like it; yet if you have a mind to turn the stomachs of ignorant well-meaning men against it, then you cloath it with the Livery of Popery, and off it goes with such silly profelytes for *Popish* trumpery: Even as Painters and Limners by a sudden dash of their pencils, can make any figure under their hands ugly and deformed. Although so far as *Papists follow reason and truth, we fear not to follow them.*

Hooker 1.
5.p.242.

In older times, when poor Christians were cloathed with the skins of beasts, and were fain to make use of their dens for Temples and places of their solemn meetings: The Minister officiating had his *Superpellicum*, to cover his coarse leathern attire, and to grace his ministry in the sight of the people: And I wish the same reason did not still continue in many places, where the Ministers revenues are so short, that they will not extend to any other than scandalous apparel. Now this white garment does not only prevent this offence, but raises the peoples esteem, even as a Judge or Major of a City are more awe-
ful

ful when they put on their Robes. However this be now ridiculous in their eyes, whose spleen is stronger than their brains; and their scorn harder than their arguments; yet heretofore it was the garb of Noble men, and the Egyptian Priests look'd upon it as most pure, *quoniam linum ex terra oritur*; but as for garments made of woell, they look'd upon them as prophane, *quia ab animato decerpuntur*, as Polidore Virgil p.120,121. gives the reason.

I know you will flye to your old refuges.

19. Produce (say you) some Scriptures for this and other Ceremonies; then we shall observe them. And for an answer, I must refer you to Matter Hooker who tells us *that all things necessary for salvation are set down in Scripture; But not all things which concern Ecclesiastical Policy, and circumstances in Religion.* Where had the Gileadites any command to erect an Altar? or the women of Israel to lament the memory of Jephth's daughter? yet where the Scripture commands that all things should be done without scandal decently and to edification; there is a general command for what rites, we are enjoyned to observe: for *though the Church as 'tis the body and spouse of Christ, wants no external policy: The express word of God is a sufficient rule: Yet as the Church is a society of men, and a body politick, so it stands in need of Ecclesiastical constitutions, as much as the State doth of civil: And those bind us to obedience as well as these; but arising from the same authority,* sayes Bishop Morton. Concerning the 3. Innocent Cerem. p.189.

20. Another *unconvenient* or sanctuary of yours is, that this and other Ceremonies are offensive

1. Cor. 8.
12.

offensive to good men : And the Apostle sayes, *when ye sin against the Brethren, and wound their weak-Consciencs, ye sin against God,*

If such as are offended at Ceremonies be indeed what they pretend to be, that is, truly good men, they understand their duty better to God and the King. And then they cannot be ignorant that the publick peace of the Church is more to be regarded, than the scandal of private Brethren. If my wearing the Surplice, or using any other Ceremonies, offend any weak persons in my Congregation, I will endeavour to inform them better : But I dare not be guilty of sacriledge, that I may give alms ; *Do evil that good may come on't* : I dare not disobey my Mother, to please my Brethren ; or spit in my Fathers face by my disobedience to the King, to gratifie the peoples ignorance, or humour their distempered zeal.

As for those texts of Saint Paul, forbidding us to offend the *weak Brethren by eating of flesh, &c.* These relate to those times, when such things as these were not determined by authority, but men were left to their own liberty : and in such a case, I would neither use Surplice, or Cross ; if thereby I should offend my weak Brethren. But had Saint Paul lived in our dayes, when we are limited and staked down by royal commands ; no doubt but he would have practised himself those lessons of obedience which he hath left in his Epistles for us to take forth.

Act 16.3. Although in the *Interregnum* (as it were) betwixt the *Jewish Rites*, and the establishments of the Gospel, he yielded to circumcise Timothy that he might not offend the *Jews*. Yet when

when the Gospel was confirm'd, then he declar'd that such as were Circumcised, Christ should profit them nothing: Therefore he would by no means have Titus circumcised. He well knew that the confronting of establishments, is not only to throw down the battlements, but even to undermine the very foundations of the Church. *Et utinam probe expendere*, sayes Calvin: I wish that such persons as stand for an unlimited liberty, and cast off the yoke of subjection, would seriously lay to heart, how by his meanes they contrive the ruine and desolation of the Church.

Gal. 5. 2.
Gal. 2. 3.

*Epist. ad
Quosiones
circa disciplinam Ec-
clesia p.
461.*

30. You say 'twas otherwise in the Law, there every pin, every circumstance in Gods worship was prescribed; but there is this difference in the Law, we were little children under the pedagogy of it, now we are *adulti*, and injoy the liberty, wherewith Christ hath made us free.

*A Camer.
P. 369.*

CHAP. XIV.

Good Subjects may lawfully declare, or swear that 'tis not lawful to take up Arms against the King.

THE next Mountain in your way, which you have not faith enough to remove, is, that you cannot declare it to be unlawful upon any pretence to take up Arms against the King. And this suggests one true reason, why some of you are so inveterately bent against the Lyturgy. — Take it in the words of our Martyr'd Sovereign — *One of the greatest faults some men found with the Common-Prayer-Book I beleive was this, that it taught them to pray so oft for me, to which petitions they had not loyalty enough to say Amen.* This is such a Shibboleth that some of your lisping tongues are not able to pronounce : And this discovers that the main spring, or *primum mobile* of your hearts, hurries you another way. And herein we are the more confirm'd, since many of you have chosen to flitt your habitations, and expose your wives and children to the mercy of the Parishes wherein they dwell ; rather than take that oath of fidelity (which in effect is no more than the oath of Allegiance in other termes) which the wisdom of the Parliament thought fit, in these times of danger, to impose upon you that they might make a tryal how your pulle beates, or
how

how you stand affected to the Kings welfare, and the Kingdoms peace: Whether you are likely to follow the right line of *David*, or revolt into the tents of *Jeroboam*: And I wish that former manners had not occasioned this Law.

Who is ignorant that one *Sinon* within the walls is more dangerous than a whole Armado without? one *Doeg* or *Achitophel* at home, than Armies of professed enemies abroad? therefore 'tis a Proverb in some Countryes——*God deliver us from our friends*; that is such as do salute, and stab us under the fifth rib at the same time. And may not Kings in such a case, use lawful means and take security even by the *Orde* of an oath? to distinguish chaff from wheat: bran from flower: who are *Israelites* indeed; such as will obey Gods Vicegerent for Conscience sake; and such as are Subjects in an abusive signification (*per Antiphrasin*) because they will be no longer subject, than his command doth comply with their own wills. If he cross them, let him look to himself. *To your Tents O Israel! we have no part in David.*

Now although such persons as these are (who can never be good Christians, because ill Subjects) will make as little Conscience of oaths, as they do of their allegiance; yet the best of Kings have bound their Subjects unto them, by this kind of ligature. When *David* came to the Crown, the *Elders of Israel* came to him to *Hebron*, and made a Covenant with him there. And when *Solomon* succeeded his Father, all the Princes and mighty men submitted themselves

1 Chron.

11.3.

1 Chron.

29.14.

Gen. 24. 9.
Ephes. 3. 2.

unto Solomon the King; or as it is in the Hebrew
 — they gave their hand under Solomon;
 which was the custome, or manner of swearing
 among the Hebrews; as is apparent by Eliazar
 putting his hand under Abrahams thigh, and swear-
 ing to him. The Annotators therefore do with good
 reason understand Solomon speaking of this oath
 of fidelity, I counsel thee to keep the Kings command-
 ment, & that in regard of the oath of God. Hence it
 is that some of the more sober dissenters amongst
 you, being convinced of this truth, and fore-
 seeing the scandal they should gain, had they
 refused, have submitted to the present oath, un-
 to whom I could make this address. — Go on
 my brethren mastering and subduing all the
 remaining difficulties, untill ye arrive both at
 the Pen and the Pulpit. I hope that you having
 pass'd this Iron-gate, you'l make no stop untill
 we all meet in *Navi Ecclesie*, in the body of the
 Temple; that we may not be *Almost*, but *Altogether*
 such Subjects, Christians, Ministers, as may
 most advance our Masters service. *Rampantur illa* ! let their bowels (like Ju-
 das's) gush forth, who rather like Devils
 gnash with their teeth, than with Angels re-
 joyce at the return and reception of such bro-
 therly coadjutors. — That's a poor surmise,
 that we are afraid lest your glory should eclipse
 our names: No your glory shall be ours: As
 Saint Paul rejoiced at the flourishing of the
 Romans, that it was spoken of through the world;
 so the lustre of your parts, industry, piety, and
 integrity, shall be so farre from offending my
 weak eyes, that I shall exult with joy, that my
 Master is so well provided with servants; that

Rom. 1. 8.

I am the meanest of those that wait at his Altar; and of the lowest form in the School of the Prophets.

But I must break off this delightful theme, and come to that more unpleasing task, of reasoning with those who refuse to give this assurance of their loyalty to their Prince. Sirs, where's the Thorne that pricks you? Are you troubled that your distinctions are cut off? that your old Avewns and Postern-Gates are in this Declaration and oath now shut up? Are there not Evasions, or starting-holes left open? Are you to be so cloister'd up, that you can make no excursions? 'Tis no wonder if men sweat, that are so strait lac'd; if the waters roar that are penn'd up with such dams.

Lets look back and see what pretences there were for an unnatural warre. I may usher in this discourse as *Jerom* did his concerning the *Arrians*, *Claudite aures, qui audituri estis, ne tanta impietatis vocibus polluamini.* P. 141.

10. Some thought it a sufficient ground of warre, to remove evil Counsellors, that is, all faithful *Hushai's*, from the King. All loyal souls that trembled at lifting up their hands against the Lords anointed, were cursed with bell, book and candle——Curse ye *Meroz, &c.*

20. Others told us, they might fight against the King, if it were for the cause of Religion, to purge the Church from idolatry, and superstition. Master *Baxter* seems to go this way in his Book of rest; as if *Nero* and *Claudius* had been Saints, and there had been no idolatry or superstition

dition in their eyes; when Saint *Paul* and Saint *Peter* did so vehemently press obedience to the Emperors. As if subjects had as great a latitude as the *Pope* himself, *in ordine ad spiritualia*. Is not this the same which *Job* inveighs against to contend for God.

p. 253.

The Devil
of Rebelli-
on doth
commonly
turn him-
self to an
Angel of
reformati-
on. *Εὐαγγ
ἀγγελίου*

p. 297.

Job 13. 8.

30. Others were so modest, as to say, they fought not against the King, but such bloody, ruffianly Cavaliers as were commissioned by him. As if the same God who commanded obedience to the King, had not also commanded submission to those that are sent by him.

40. Others told us quite contrary (for like those false witnesses which came in against Christ, they did not agree among themselves) 'tis true they fought against the Kings person; but it was by his own commission; that is, by vertue of his own Authority then residing in some Members of Parliament. Good God! what pretences were invented? what Jesuitical tricks and distinctions were now set on foot? to palliate and gloss over, a most rotten and devilish design: Yet all too little, too cover that cloven foot, which appeared to men of piety, peace, and heavenly wisdom at the very first: But afterwards this cloud of the bigness of a *mans band*, waxed bigger and bigger, untill it darkned our English heavens, and dissolv'd into a shower of Royal blood. O *bear and fear, and do no more so wickedly*. Let former experience discipline you into an abhorrency of war against the King, and restrain you from all those methods

and

and Premises, which may infer the like catastrophe.

Who can blame the King ? if desiring to live long, and to see good dayes (former transactions considered) to make a decree, that it shall be declared to be unlawful to take up arms against himself, or those that are commissioned by him, upon any pretences whatsoever. And since the lines of our peace and happiness, as to Church and State, do meet and concenter in him as our Common Father ; is it unreasonable for Subjects to swear they will not endeavour the alteration of Government in the Church and State ? Who would think that any Natives of a Land, professing themselves the followers of Christ (who in the dayes of his humiliation, was obedient to *Cæsar*, that he wrought a miracle to give him his due) and expecting protection from a lawful Prince, should once demur whether they should make this declaration, or take this Oath ? *Qui deliberant deservunt*, such as doubt of this, have even shak'd off the yoke of subjection. Mistake me not I am no virulent *Tertullus*, to draw up an indictment against you: I accuse you not. But as Christ told the Jews there was one that accused them even *Moses* : so there is one that acculeth you by upbraiding you ; bestowing on you some *Cæca verbera*, and putting you sometimes into a cold sweat ; I mean your own Conscience. I must tell you too before we part, that if upon this account you court your own sufferings, I would have you to consider, whether ye suffer as Christians for righteousness sake, And for well doing or whether you are buffeted for your faults. Shall I commend you for this ? I commend you not. If you expect a

coronet, or garland due to confessors; if I might plat the wreaths, they should be of Nettels, and Hemlock. I should as soon set the crown of martyrdom upon the head of *Thomas a Becket*, or *Sir Thomas More*, as adorn their foreheads who refused to put in caution for their fidelity and due subjection to their Prince. If such persons would be accounted loyalists, let them be so: But then let me have leave to derive their pedigree, or assign the reason of their denomination; and that is, because they are of their *Father Ignatius Loyola*. It is a wonder to me, that we should be *adeo Historicis* (to use *Saint Jeromes* words) so prickley, sharp and full of invectives against the *Jesuits*, for maintaining the lawfulness of murdering protestant Princes, and yet the same men should refuse to declare and swear — *That it is unlawful to take up Arms against the King upon any pretence whatsoever.*

I wish these recusants would consider what difference there is, betwixt taking up Arms against the King (if the success fall on their side) and un-Kinging (I had almost said un-manning) of him. I confess I have set my eyes as steady as I could, and I have strengthened them too with the spectacles of several Histories, and I can discern but very little — Not as if all that ingag'd in the last War had this design; farre be it from me to be so uncharitable: For as some followed *Absolom* against *David*, in the simplicity of their hearts; so many through the prematurity of age and judgment, perswasions of relations, and the enchantments of fair pretences, did purchase their own repentance: and they that are sensible of their former errors will, no doubt, be most faithful and

2 Sam 15.
11.

p. 303.

and loyal afterwards, said the Father of our present Solomon.

I cannot but admire at Master Baxter who acquainting us with his activity in the late War, tells us at last that 'tis not *his intent to determine which party was in the right*: As if he had been fluctuating all that while twixt wind and water, or at least did not then remember the Apostles *ἑκαστος ἐν τῇ ἰδίᾳ συνείδει* Let every one be fully satisfied in his own mind; sure he was not ignorant of that maxime: Suppose the case had been so doubtful as he makes it, yet in doubtful cases—*presumitur pro Rege, & lege*--and which is all one--*subdit tenentur in favorem legis judicare*. Better obey than disobey doubtingly, because as my Author quotes it out of Saint Austin---*Reum facit principem iniquitas imperandi, Innocentem subditum ordo serviendi*.

Book of
Revl. p. 58

Rom. 14. 5

See Bishop
Bramhals
vindication
of the
Church of
England
p. 112.

Had I been near this Gentlemen, when he was in this libration of suspense, I would have put the fifth commandment, together with two or three choice texts out of Saint Paul and Saint Peters Epistles into the other scale; and then questionless he would have been the better able to determine *which party was in the right*.

And since I have named Master Baxter: if I durst, I would (*Cum tanti viri venia*), be his *oppositum* (as Saint Jerom speaks in an Epistle of his) and further his active indoltry in a double performance.

10. To review his political doctrines; especially those that are gathered together by an eminent hand: And if after a second scanning, or weighing them in the ballance of the Sanctuary, he finds them too light--That he would deal

with them as I presume he hath done with several of his Theological Aphorismes; even abandon and disinherit them. What a glorious work would this be? conducing to the benefit and edification of the Church; un-deceiving and disintangling many poor captivated souls, more than many other swelling Volumes. In so doing he would not only resemble the great Bishop of Hippo, but the great Doctour of the Jews. This would not only be to profess and print, but to live that evangelical doctrine of self-denial: This disowning our own infallibility, will with *Achan* give glory unto God; by taking shame unto our selves. *Qui primas habere non potuit sapientia, secundas habeat partes modestia.*

Josh 7. 19

Austin.

Re r. 11.

20. Since in his five disputations, he allows of a Lyturgy, and of those things which are most disputable in ours; Nay for peace sake (he sayes) we must obey inconvenient circumstantial in Gods worship. And in his safe way, he acknowledgeth that the Governours of the Church have a decessive power in things undetermined in Scripture: and where he hath resided (I have inform'd) it hath been his constant practise to frequent our Church-service even at the beginning of it. Is it any breach of manners, or disparagement of a mans reason to desire this person, to reconcile his principles upon Record, and his practise at present, to his refusal of an active submission to the Laws and Orders of the Church and state: that he might act that part of the ministry himself, which he seems to approve in others, or if he resolve to be *Miles emeritus* before his time, in

P. 457.

P. 193.

quit-

quitting his ministerial station : Why doth he not give the World some solid succinct, and (if it were possible) Apodictical account of his so doing, such as he will own for argumentative, directly grounded upon Scripture rightly understood, or upon right regulated reason : which may be able to bear up such a fabrick, or superstructure of such a desertion ; not like that loose paralytick discourse given to the Kings Commissioners at the *Savoy*, written rather Rhetorically *ad captandum populum*--to insinuate into vulgar capacities, than logically to evince the Hypothesis contended for : Strip it of its multifarious fallacies, ungrounded surmises, and erroneous suppositions ; and it will not only be a massie body of flesh, without either bones, or nerves to support and joyn it together ; but *Sine succo & sanguine*, a very skeleton ; I had almost said some ghastly ghost.

Is it not equitable, that men should render an account of their judgment and practise, as well as of their faith ? that a protestant Minister should give reasons for his abjuring his publick ministry, or self-suspension ; as well as *Campian* did of his Apostasie. If any strange at this pressing upon Master *Baxter* in particular, I must without any Ambages, return this clear answer : Because in these parts where providence hath cast the lot of my residence ; there are many unsatisfied brethren, who grew up either under his shadow, or were so influenc'd and bias'd by him ; that either they hold off from the publick service of the Congregation ; or else are very cold, and halting in joyning with it. What an effectual expedient might it prove ? how might

it tend to uniting us in Gods service? that so we might worship him with one heart, one voice, one shoulder ; If such an *ὁ ποιῶν τὴν ἀνάμνησιν*, A leader of the people, would come but off his recluse, *Et sibilaret illos*, would labour with them by example, personal advice, proxies or emissaries of letters, that they would lay their shoulders to the common yoke of devotion; draw evenly, soberly and unanimously in the worship of God. Cursed be that credit, which doth but with the more ease draw men (like decoye's) into perdition. No sort of men (sayes Polydore Virgil) is more Pestilential and pernicious than preachers ; *Si ad gratiam conciones ad populum habeant: Quippe ubi Semel Sanctitatis nomen sint adepti, tum maxime nocent, quia ijs maxime Creditur*. May my reputation be blasted ! sullied ! obscured ! rather than by any such spurious light, I should allure men into bogs, gulphs, labyrinths: leading them from the waters of comfort : The excellency of Carmel and Sharon : The fragrant valley of Achor, into parched Hearthes and howling Wilderesses ; until they are not only scratch'd, tatter'd; and peel'd, but even torn and rent with the briars and thorns of wild opinions, and wasting errors.

When once men leap out of the cape of the Church; and run from under her wings; they are presently expos'd to ravenous Vultures and Harpyes, impressed by the Prince of the air: and like him, that went from Hierusalem to Jericho, they fall among thieves. They sink into the bottom of the sea like a stone: Their heads will be wrapp'd about with weeds of delusion; that leave Nineveh to go to Tarshish. Had men kept close

close to the Church of England, they needed not have stumbled at swearing — That 'tis not lawful to take up arms against the King.

I must tell the whole *Chorus* of my dissenting brethren; that this very fly is enough to spoyle the whole box of their pretended ointments. Who can chuse but nauseate that way of discipline, which startles at renouncing war against the King? Were there no other reason this were enough to incline me to that resolute soliloquy *Enter not thou my soul into your secrets*: This is such an insatiation as discovers more of your nakedness, than I am willing to take notice of: lest I should (like flies) stick upon a sore place; and write a Satyr instead of a perswasive. *If we love not our brother whom we have seen; how shall we love God, whom we have not seen?* And if we obey not the King, who is a visible God, how shall we obey God who is an invisible King? this distemper is the more dangerous, in that 'tis even incorporated into the very complexion of your great *Diana* not only at home but abroad. It is accompanied with an affectation, of levelling the old standards, and erecting new ones: In sober-sadness; it hath been accompanied with prodigions unkindness towards Princes. As ingrateful neighbours will scarce cleer themselves in this particular. In *France* I find the King of *Navarre*, to be so far offended with *Beza's* heat at *Poisy*, and with others that ran riot, abusing their liberty, that he left them, and made a league with the Duke of *Guise*. I am loth to go so far as *Geneva*, and turn over the History of transactions there. I shall rather return to our Brethren of *Scotland*. After *Bothwell* that cursed

Devils l.
20.

Spotſwood. regicide had murder'd the King; he was not only favour'd by ſuch like Miniſters, in Scotland; but alſo reſſetted (to uſe my Authors words) by their confederates here in England, when King James diſcourſ'd with Mr. Robert Bruce, about calling Huntley to Court; he told him he ſhould either loſe Huntley, or himſelf; take his choice: Other of his brother Miniſters being convented before the King for their traiterous words, they refus'd to appear, ſaying—that the *Spirits of the Prophets are ſubject to the Prophets alone*, for what is ſpoken in the Pulpit for the advancement of Chriſt Could any men more reſemble *Dathan and Abiram*? If the King went an hunting, or kept a feaſt; when they thought it fitting to faſt, the Pulpit muſt convey their ill reſentment to the people; and when ſome adviſed the King to let them alone, for ſo they would ſoon render themſelves odious: True ſaid he; ſo I would had I a mind to ruine the Church. Thus that moſt reverend and impartial *Spotſwood*. But from the beginning it was not ſo. The primitive Chriſtians look'd upon their Emperours, as ſubject only to the power of God,

Tertul. p. 43. *a quo ſunt ſecundi, poſt quem primi; ante omnes & ſuper omnes deus.* And again, *Chriſtianus nullus eſt Hoſtis, nedum imperatoris.* Go and ſearch the priſons (ſayes the ſame Author) whether any traiterous Chriſtians are there: and this I take to be the main reaſon why Chriſtianity did increaſe ſo faſt in thoſe dayes; becauſe Chriſtians were ſo obedient and peaceable that they were permitted to reſide in any Kingdom.

Theodor. Huſt. Eccl. l. 4.

Valentinian told his Army—penes vos fuit milites committere mihi habenas imperij, cum nondum eſſem imperator; ſed in poſſeſſione imperij

cu m

*cum fin, non vestram, sed meum fuerit gerere reip-
curam.* And Grotius tells us, That the Kings De Jure
of Egypt though they violated their promises to Belli.
their Subjects; yet *Accusari vivi non poterant,* P. 57.
sed mortuis abjudicabatur sollemnis sepultura.

Saint Austin gives the reason— *Qui regnum Au- De Civit.
gusto, ipsi Neroni commisit: Qui Constantino de lib. 5.
Christiano, Juliano Apostata Regnandi dedit po-
testatem.* Optatus observes, that 'tis said The Lord p. 63.

repented him that he had annointed Saul to be
King. God (sayes he) could have taken from
him that Oyl which he had bestowed upon him,

*sed cum voluit docere, non debere contingi oleum
etiam in peccatore, ipse qui dederat, penitentiam*

egit. I know no sin against the second Table set
forth in more bloody colours, than this of dis-
obedience—'tis compounded of *Homicide, Parri-*

cide, Cbristicide, and Deicide. And 'tis compa-
red to the sin of witchcraft, where the party in-
dents and covenants with the devil himself.

Who more fit to teach men the black Art of this
sin, than he that practis'd it himself, in aspiring
to be as God, as if he would have dethron'd the

Almighty? We may see something of his pra-
ctising upon Adam; how he tempted him to
take the same course, he had done before him.

And indeed every sin he sollicitates men unto,
hath a vein of rebellion running in it, David
well knew, that there was much of guilt in this

sin, when he said, *How can I lift up my hands
against the Lords anoointed, and be guiltless?*

Therefore he commanded the Amalekite who
had an hand in Sauls death, to be slain before his
eyes. Sheba blowing a Trumpet against David

is stiled the son of Belial. Jerom gives the reason, Speed. p.
because he was sine iugo without any yoke of 630.

obedience. Those *Assasini*, which were sent
against

- against Princes at the command of their Superiours, were an odious sect among the *Sarazens*. What made *Jeroboam* so infamous in Scripture? so that he is said so often, to have made *Israel* to sin: But because he lift up his hands against the Kings, as well as set up Calves at *Dan* and *Bethel*. What more hateful or hurtful creature than the *Locust*? yet they only are observed to have no King. An irreverend or wry word against the King, is in Scripture called blasphemy. Thou shalt not blaspheme the Gods. And *Naboth* was accus'd in that he did blaspheme God and the King, God will not suffer such words to go undiscovered—Curse not the King, no not in thy thoughts: for a bird of the Air shall carry the voice: Therefore God himself expostulates so sharply, with *Aaron* and *Miriam*, even for whispering against *Moses*—Were ye not afraid to speak against my servant *Moses*? Nay, they must not be told of their faults like other men, lest their Authority should be weakned, and their Majesty sullied. Is it fit to say to a King, thou art wicked, and to Princes ye are ungodly? It may be good advise, and better prudence sometimes—not to Prophesie at *Bethel*—where it is the Kings Chappel, and the Kings Court.

In the New Testament, that theif who was crucifi'd with Christ, is thought by *Grotius* to be such an one, as had taken up arms against the King, and therefore he was condemned to that shameful and painful death; however this be disputable: yet sure I am, that such as are *Traitours*, *Heady*, &c. are left for the last and worst of times. That plain text *Rom. 13.* Those that resist shall receive damnation,—hath been so

so tortur'd and dislocated, in the late times by some patrons of disobedience; that I have wondered, and wonder I shall, until (*אֲנִי יֵאָדָּא נְאֻלֵּי*) I shall go down into the slimy vally where all things are forgotten; how it was possible to darken such clear counsel by words without knowledge: how men should raise such a mist at noon-day, making darkness their Pavilion round about them, with dark waters, and thick clouds of the Skies. As if with the fish *Sepia*, ready to be taken, they could at their pleasure vomit forth such an inky humour, that they may escape thorow their own shades, and glide away thorough that water which they themselves have mudded. As the *Valentinians* of old, wrapt up the poyson of their heresie in their *Aëones*, and other intricate and obscure terms: that they might first amuse, and then captivate their followers. How was the name of God taken in vain in our remembrance, by the abusing of Scripture to prove the lawfulness of Arms? Because *Jonathan* was rescued from the hands of *Saul*, and *Elisha* shut the doors against the Kings Messengers; thence it was inferr'd that Kings might be resisted, and Armies raised against them. Whereas the rescuing of *Jonathan* was nothing else, but by a loving violence and importunity, whereby the execution of a passionate and unlawful command was prevented, as if a servant should snatch away a child from an enraged father, when he is about to whip him, upon a false suggestion. And *Elisha* did but ward off the blow of a sudden and rash assault. Now to argue from hence a lawfulness of fighting against Kings, or disobeying their deliberate and just commands, would be but harsh
logick

Job. 38. 2.

1 Sam. 14.

2 Chr. 6.

33.

2 Chron.
11. 10.

logick, especially if reduc'd into practise in their own families. If servants shrink from their masters blows, might also draw their swords, or maintain *bellum servile* against them. Other inconveniences of like nature have been too rise. Some Sacrilegious persons in some cases have *de facto* affronted Princes; therefore it hath been concluded *de jure*, that 'tis lawful. And some usurpers have been brought to condign punishment, therefore the same course is to be taken with lawful and legitimate Kings. because *Lybnah is said to have revolted from the King of Judah, because he had forsaken the Lord*, therefore if Kings fall off from God, their Subjects may fall off from them: Although the genuine sense is this; God punish'd the King of *Judah* with the revolt of his people, yet that revolt in the people was a sin.

Ecclef.
10. 17.

Whether the Prince be good or bad it matters not as to our duty of obedience. 'Tis true when Kings are good, our obedience is the more cheerful and willing: *Blessed art thou O Land! when thy King is the son of Nobles, and thy Princes eat in due season, for strength and not for drunkenness.* Yet where Princes are oppressors, and ungodly, our obedience may be the more heavy and clogg'd with discouragements, but such obedience in things lawful is the more acceptable to God: As the subjection of servants, even to *froward Masters* commends them more, than though they were good and gentle.

1 Pet. 2. 18.

Many of the first Emperours were Heathens, and after they were converted to Christianity, they were *Arrian* Hereticks, yet they were faith-

faithfully obey'd by Orthodox Christians.

Had God set no better guard about Kings, than to have left them to the censures and judgment of the people, whether they ought to be obey'd or not, who would not rather spurn than court a Crown? well might the Vine and Figtree in *Jobams* parable refuse that office. They would be but ridiculous Gods, who are at the mercy of their votaries. God never put the Image of his own power upon them, to be raz'd out at the pleasure of the people. Therefore 'tis observed that God hath signally plagued those wrongs, which have been done to his viceregerents. *Funeſtus fuit ille Armus* -- that was an unlucky time accompanied with a deluge of miseries, when the power of Kings was taken away in *Rome* and Consuls set up. And in our own Annals we read that after R. 2. was depos'd their followed a War wherein an hundred thousand English Men were slain, Such prodigies portend black and cloudy events — *Certe violata potestas — Invenit ista deos*, numerous sacrifices must fall, to expiate the blood of one King, who being alive, was worth ten thousand of us.

Austin de Civit. dei
l. 3. c. 16.

We must pray for Kings, that we may lead quiet and peaceable lives: Our happiness is wrapt up in theirs. A King is *ſans tē lais* the very foundation of the people, carrying all his Subjects upon his back. The *Persians* after the death of their Prince, forbore some few dayes to enthrone another, that the confusion and anarchy, which was too evident in that interval, might make them love their King the better all his reign.

We

Achates
from
Axo.
grief.

Lib. 10.
Pr 16.

Salva Ro-
ma, Salva.
patria Sal-
vus est
Germani-
cus.
Sueton.

We have no cause to disquiet Kings, by envying their Grandure, especially if we consider their great care and sleepless nights for our good. Cyrus thought the life of an Herdsman better than of a King; and that it was easier to govern brute-Beasts than men. And Tiberius in Sueton, told his friends they little knew *Quanta bellua esset imperium*, what a terrible Behemoth an Empire was—*Aeneas fidus Achates*, let's not requite our King, (who was a King of as many joys, as he was of prayers and sorrows) with such unkindness, as not to renounce the lawfulness of taking up Arms against him, and altering the Government of Church and State, establish'd by and under him: So we shall but renew his former labours, and rub upon that wound which was sorely healed: This is to turn our *Hosannas* into *Crucifixes*. For my part what *Lactantius* said of *Constantine*, the same shall I say of our Sovereigns restoration—*Ille dies felicissimus orbi illuxit, quo illum Deus summus ad beati imperij culmen evexit*.---That was the happiest day which ever shone upon our *Olbia*, when this Sun brake forth out of those Clouds wherein it was mantled. I pray my Brethren beare a part with me in this following Author. *Salva Anglia, salva patria, Salvus est Carolus*.

I cannot chuse but recount with sadness of heart the subjects of some conferences I have had with persons of no ordinary quality, who were engaged in the late War. When I told them I have no other Divinity warranted from Scripture, but prayers and tears: And that *Whatever the King commands me, which is not contrary to the great Charter of the Word of God,*

*I am bound in Conscience to obey. If he command any thing repugnant to Gods revealed will, I must obey him still; though not actively in doing what he commands: yet passively in submitting to those penalties which he shall inflict upon me; they told me they had been acquainted with other doctrine: And who were the preachers you may easily guess. I do even tremble to consider that any should profane the pulpit, poyson the air, or which is worse, the hearts of men with such seditious and devilish doctrine. Such Sermons go down smoothly. This is to swim with the tide of mens corrupted hearts; 'tis no wonder that *Watt Tylar* and *Jack Straw* gathered together such an incredible rout against R. 2. since they had *John Ball* an excommunicate Priest to be their Chaplain, who threw the firebrands of rebellion amongst the people, who are prepared like tinder, or Gunpowder to catch at such wild-fire. Just so, those two Doctors *Sbs* and *Pincher*, quickly rais'd and excited R. 3. against H. 5.*

*Mens ears are too open to receive any Tragical complaints, concerning their Governours. *Sbe-ba's* Trumpet is pleasant musick to that great beast, the common people. They hearken with both ears to detractions, and calumnies against their Governours, That they are tyrannical; Bishops are Antichristian; Popery is coming on apace: The Gospel is adulterated: Justice is obstructed: Profaneness is countenanced: What Hurricanes will these beasts raise? men are sick of things present, and long for change, therefore they have a forward faith and affection for what conduces unto variety. It is easier to over-*

turn and destroy more in a day, than can be built in an age. Such taxes are so connatural to the ordinary soyle, that they will start up in a moment; therefore upon this account *Mahometanism* and *Popery* grew so fast, because they were commensurate to mens carnal hearts: 'tis grace alone which must check and choke these luxuriant weeds; and season men with better principles. For as natural men are prone to approve of *Plato's* Common-Wealth, or the doctrine of the *Nicolaitans*, which God hates in suffering their lusts to run riot, in a promiscuous and exorbitant manner, without any inclosure, or distinction of persons. So, such as are sensual who never had the wind of Gods spirit winnowing them from their chaff, in unsettling them from their Lees, and securing them from the common *Mas's*: These discern not the Image of God upon the King: They smell none of Gods Oyl upon him: but look upon him as an ordinary person; and so they conceive not themselves under an obligation of Conscience to pay that reverence and obedience which is due unto him. These are apt to mistake *Manasseh* for *Ephraim*, *Eli* for the Lord, *Ellab* for *David*. What is this, but to open a flood-gate to let in all manner of confusion? I am not afraid to say that those that are good men will have War with this *Amalek*, from generation to generation.

But that which yet increases the earthquake in my Bowels, and makes my knees juggle one against another, is, that men pretending to be refin'd; and more than ordinary spiritual and religious, should break their allegiance and

teach men so : That after such a shipwreck (as we have seen) they should still refuse the plank of repentance whereby they might sail safe to shore ; and are so far from retracting this pernicious error, by declaring and swearing, that 'tis not lawful to take up Arms against the King ; that so they might make some satisfaction for their former miscarriage : Stop the sluices of future rebellions, and undeceive their deluded followers ; who are *Jurati*, even sworn to follow the dictates of such Masters, and count it part of their service to God ; to do what disservice they can to the King : Methinks such incendiaries, when they see any of their followers going to execution for their traiterous exploits, they should see themselves executed in them ; and say to the executioners--*in nos converte ferrum* : Methinks they should also fear, lest this guilt should follow them after this life into another World ; For 'tis no new opinion, that punishment will increase as men grow worse and worse, thorow our examples and doctrines, which we have left behind. I say the paroxysm of my sorrow is the more heightened, when I see men even justifying their former actings (as *Jonah* did his anger) *Challenging all men to charge them with doing the least personal injury to any ; and professing to give satisfaction to any that can justly claim it ;* they are the words of Doctor *Owen*. As if it were possible to carry on a War ; to act under our revolutions, with the greatest zeal and vigour, and to keep many, many persons from the enjoyment of their rights, were not to be guilty of personal injuries. And if he should give sa-

Vindication of Fiat
Lus. p. 125

tisfaction to all that might justly claim it ; let his estate be what it will, I dare with a better grounded confidence averre--*Non est solvendo*. But if this be no answer to the Doctors challenge, I could whisper in his ear, some notes of a thanksgiving Sermon, preach'd in *Christ-Church in London*, upon the overthrow of the Levellers at *Burford*, which must needs abate his confidence. The circumstance of time and place may probably quicken and refresh his memory.

— *Nos utinam vani* —

I have no ill will to the person of the man ; but rather have cause to own some civilities from him ; much less have I a purpose to insult over *Bajazet* in his cage ; or any others that are descended to the bottom of the wheel. I well remember what *Lewis King of France* is reported to have said, when he was counselled to demolish the Duke of *Bedfords Tomb*---*What Honour will it be to spoyl his Monument, who being alive would have disquieted the proudest of us all.*

Speed in
H. 6.

My scope is (according to the purport and tenour of this discourse) to invite my Brethren, and O that I could thorowly perswade them, not only to an *ἑξομολόγησις*, a confession of their errors in general ; but to an *ἑξομολόγησις*, A confession of this particular, in taking up Arms—— that they have been out of the way themselves, and have also misled others. Such a *Palinodia* would be more acceptable to God and good men than all evasions, wiping of mouths, or writing *Toftatus* his Volumes, in a way of justification of their actings. Though by this course

Sirs,

Sirs, you may seem to consult your own shame, yet it would preserve your names better than Brass and Marble. This would be a means to attonse God: to make the King sleep securely in the lap of his people: to prevent jealousies: to take off the former scandal from our Church, and to ease your own souls; if you are sensible of that crude matter, which lies upon the stomachs of your Consciences: For *Torah* which signifies confession, comes from a root which signifies to cast forth; because it eases an aking heart, as vomit doth an oppressed stomach. *Quid hoc mali est?* this is a strange kind of sin, *quod naturalia mali non habet; timorem, pudorem, ter- giversationem, pœnitentiam, deplorationem. Quid hoc mali est cujus Reus gaudet? Cujus Accusatio votum est, & pena felicitas.* If you slight mine take the Prophets counsel—Take unto you words, and turn unto the Lord: Say unto him, take away all our iniquity; and receive us graciously. *Ashur shall not save us, we will not ride upon Horses; neither will we say any more to the work of our hands, ye are our Gods.* What the Lord himself spake to Job's friends give me leave to speak unto you. Take unto you now seven Bullocks and seven Rams, and go to my servant Job (the King) and offer up for your selves a burnt offering and my servant Job (the King) shall pray for you, for him will I accept; least I deal with you after your folly, in that ye have not spoken the thing that is right. If you shall return me the same answer as Rich Chremylus did, when he heard the commendations of poverty *Ὁ δὲ πρῶτος, ἢ μὴ γινώσκεις, ὅτι ἡ πτωχεία, ἀριστή ἐστὶν αἰώνως,* say what you will, wee'l none

Tertul. Apologet. p. 18.

Hos. 13. 2. 3.

Job 41. 84

Aristophanes

Ἄριστος ἔ-
στιν ὁ θεὸς ὁ
μὴ ἐκείνου
ἔσθαι. An-
toninus in
vita sua
16.

Eutichius;
Tomo se-
cundo p.
199.

of your advise: I am resolved to be avenged of you: For I will never be like you. If I do amiss, I will acknowledge it; and though I may erre, yet I will not be an Heretick; though, could I prevail with you in this suit, the comfort would be the Churches, and therein mine: the glory Gods; but the greatest advantage would be your own; for repentance (as well as love) will cover a multitude of sins. I have read of an *African* Thief, condemned to dye by *Mauritius*, before he was executed, he prayed that God would pardon his sins, as he did *Peters*, *Hezekiahs*, the Thief on the Cross; his eyes ran down with tears, and his handkercheif was thorowly drench'd with the same: When he was dead, the fiends came to challenge him for their own; they weighed down the scale with a black catalogue of his sins, which they had ready prepar'd. At last there appeared two Angels in white, and they put the handkercheif wetted with briny tears into the other end of the ballance, and weigh'd down the fardel of all his sinful pranks: I shall not accommodate this History; but I shall attend your next motion. Methinks I hear you say, I have gone upon a false supposition; and grapled with my own shadow, or a ghost of my own raising: for you have as great a share in *David*, as any of us. Neither will you yield your selves to come behind the best of Subjects in the duty of Loyalty. Well, make this good, and we are all agreed, all other differences will fall in; if we could once meet together in this cardinal Point: Lay aside your evasions, limitations, demurs, reservations and distinctions, concerning the rights and prerogatives of Kings,

Kings, then come in with a full and kindly obedience to our *Abimelech*, the Father of our Country: And what remains to keep us asunder? Who would boggle at the Lyturgy, or Rites appendant? Who would think much to declare, or swear, that 'tis not lawful to take up Arms against the King? Who would ever have taken the Covenant at first? or who would now look upon themselves as obliged by it, to endeavour the alteration of Church-Government? Were men thorowly principled in obedience to the King. And since I have nam'd the Covenant; I have rouz'd up such a Lyon out of *his Thicket*, that I must set apart the next Chapter to charm him down again into his Den

CHAP. XV.

The Solemn League and Covenant is not obligatory.

WELL may the Covenant be compar'd to a Lyen; for it looks fierce and terrible, scattering abroad the very Arrows of death. And no wonder it is so deadly, and of so gashly a visage: For it rose lately from the dead, and started out of its own ashes. This is the very *Achilles*, or *Goliath*, which is thought to be invincible, your *Palladium*, take this, and take all. It is such a stone, as threatens to fall back and grind to powder those that go about to remove it. What renounce the Covenant? We can read Common-Prayer (I have heard some say) but to be Covenant-breakers and to violate the oath of God this we cannot do: *Nobis non licet esse tam profanis*. Now I have followed you to the very Capitol, and what remains is like the uncasing of the head.

Though we fight you not in the field (I have heard others say) yet wee'l pray you down, yet how can ye pray in Faith? upon what promise will ye ground such prayers? But will you stop there? can you chuse but second your prayers with your strenuous endeavours? will you (with the *Ostrich*) leave these eggs in the dust? and never look after these Arrows? 'Tis well that you have wash'd out your former spots: for I
ob.

observed heretofore that when the lightning of your prayers went before, the thunder, and clattering of your Armour followed after: You us'd the *Sword of Gideon*, as well as the *Sword of the Lord*; when like *Moses*, you went up into the mountain to pray, you had your Armies of *Jehues* fighting in the vallies. But why do you call the Covenant the *Oath of God*? I read of that expression but once in Scripture *Eccles. 8. 2.* and there no doubt it signifies the oath of Allegiance to the King. With what Engines can you wire-draw this text to the Covenant? What hath the Covenant to do with Allegiance? How these agree together, we shall see afterwards; yet you may as well see Allegiance in the Covenant, as discover the National Covenant in that of Baptism. A leading person of your way, told me once in discourse--*That to renounce the Covenant, and to renounce Baptism is all one*; this is just like another assertion of his: When I told him, that the Covenant was impos'd upon Subjects, by Subjects: No said he, --Parliament men (*Sedente curiâ*) are not Subjects---a weak fabrick sure! that must be pillar'd and buttress'd up with such props as these are. I forbear further to ravel into this bottom, because that good man is now fallen asleep.

Whilst you call the Covenant the *Oath of God*, you break the third Commandment in taking Gods name in vain, by abusing of Scripture.

I confess there is much of Religion in keeping our Vows and Promises. *He shall dwell in* Pf. 15. 4.
Gods

*Temerario
voti circū-
ſationem ju-
ſtam ſua
prævarica-
tionis non
inveniet
quem nemo
compulſit
ut voveret
Fulgenc.
619.*

*Turkiſh
Hiſt. P. 322*

*Dr. Beard
of Gods
Judg-
ments.*

Jer. 4. 23

Gods Holy Hill, that ſwears and changes not, one that makes Conſcience of his Oath is all one as *ὁ ὅσιος*, an holy or religious man. No fin is follow'd at heels with more ſignal Judgments than this of perjury; as might be evidenc'd by *Arrius* (who was as 'twere the Antitype of *Judas*) whoſe bowels for this very cauſe gushed out. *Vladiſlaus* King of *Hungary* broke a ſolemn league with *Amurath* the ſixth, who ſpreading thoſe Articles in the Air, to which the King of *Hungary* had ſworn, and making his appeal to the God of the Chriſtians, ſuddenly the *Hungarians* were overthrow'n. Sad inſtances there are in our own ſtories; of *Harrold* breaking his Oath with the *Norman*, and of *Stephen*, with *Mande* the Empreſs. *Pythagoras* taught his Schollars (in order to make them good men) *ὁμῆσαι ὅρκους*, to reverence and obſerve their Oathes: This is like to God himſelf, who is called in Scripture *A God keeping Covenant*; valuing every title of his word at a higher rate than he does *Heaven* and *Earth*. Yet when Oathes are ſo ſacred, that 'tis a peculiar offence to break them; they muſt have the Prophets conditions, that is, they muſt be ſworn in judgment, righteouſneſs and truth.

Fiſt, men muſt make inquiry and then vow And a promiſſory Oath, which binds the taker muſt be taken upon theſe previſo's.

Fiſt, The matter of it muſt be lawful.

Secondly, It muſt not intrench upon the Authority of our Superiours: How far ſhort the Covenant came of theſe conditions, it will appear afterwards.

Before

Before I launch into the depth of this Subject, I shall as it were stand upon the bank-side, and preface it with a narrative or two.

First, of a plain Country man, who observ'd it unto me — That when the *Scots* march'd through these parts with the Covenant in their Hats: those that had with so much solemnity taken it before, were so far from lifting up an hand, that they did not so much as move their tongues in behalf of it: As if this stratagem of state having done its execution upon Episcopacy, were to be laid aside and become *Nebushtan*; or as Bishop *Gauden* expresses it; this Flag of faction were then to be called in; that part which concern'd the King was Apocryphal: But after a longer distance of time, when things are happily settled under our gracious Sovereign: As the *Jews* cry'd up the Temple of the Lord, so these do the Covenant. All the application I shall make is — that some legerdemain is so gross and palpable, that 'tis discernable by clouted shooes, The other is of a person as highly elevated for parts and piety, as any that hath moved in the sphere of the Church these many ages. The most reverend Bishop *Usher*: Who in a Sermon at Saint *Mary Oxon*, before those loyal and faithful Parliament men, that left Westminster, and came thither in the late war in obedience to the Kings commands: speaking of the Covenant; whether it had any binding power, he used these words — *My soul upon it; that Covenant binds no more such as have taken it; than Sampsons withes, which he brake asunder, and cast from him at his pleasure.* If the deliberate judgment of any man will weigh any thing

thing in the scale of Conscience, I should think the resolution of this Apostolical casuist, should statuminate, and settle any soul that fluctuates about the Covenant. Had either a superstitious ignorance, or a cowardly compliance ever betray'd me into this snare, upon the hearing of this Angel I would have gone forth and wept bitterly, that ever I had adulterated my soul, by swallowing such a poysoned gobbet. It would have been gravel in my belly, untill I had vomited it up by repentance : I should have accounted my self free from any obligation from thence for the time to come.

When I consider how this unshapen Monster was usher'd into the World, by the Mid-wifery of an unnatural war : what a strages, or desolation hath been wrought by this *flying Role* ! How it hath devoured Royal, Noble, Common flesh : and laid the Lords Vineyard waste ; I cannot chuse but say, *A bloody Covenant hast thou been unto us*. Therefore such as wish well to the King, Church, Nation, others and themselves, will never go about to unty those grave-clothes, wherewith Authority hath bound up this Malefactor, or open a door to let out this *Minotaure*, to sport himself again in our gore. For although it is prefac'd with these plausible enchanting words—*After the commendable praesises of these Kingdoms, and the example of Gods people in other Nations* :

Yet upon diligent search, by the best Historians, there's none can be found to run paralel with it, but only that Catholick cursed league, contriv'd by the *Guises*, in the kingdome of *France*. It differs from all other Covenants,
and

and hath a special signature of its own. They began, but this ended in blood. *The first Covenant was not dedicated without blood;* and the second was laid in the blood of the Paschal Lamb. In the *Jewish* Covenants there was a Beast slain and divided; then the Covenant-teers pass'd between those parts, to shew that they deserved to be slain and cut into pieces if they violated their Covenant. When *Catalin* conspir'd the ruine of *Cicero*, together with the *Roman* Common-wealth (and now I think I have found another paralel) he first kill'd a little boy; and then his confederates mutually bound themselves together by an oath, taken over the bowels of that child. But this Covenant was wrapt up in fair professions at first, but afterwards it floated in blood, and ended in bitterness.

Heb. 9. 18.

Nabis an arrand tyrant of *Lacedemon*, had a wife called *Apega*, who fleec'd the women as he did the men; he loved her so dearly, that he made her picture with costly garments; and when he could not get money by fair means, he told them he would bring them to his wife, perhaps she might perswade them: So the Image opened its Arms, as to imbrace, but the arms and bosome of it was so full of Iron nails, that they tormented those poor men to death. (who refused to lay down their monies) Just such an Idol was this Covenant: It was habited in the dress of a religious Matron—*Mulier formosa superne*—doted upon as the great *Diana* of the *Ephesians*; I mean such as plotted the overthrow of Church and State: and when other engines could not draw on that de-

Dion Cass.
us l. 37.

Sr Walter
Ramley
p. 618.

design fast enough ; this *Amazonian Virago* expands her arms, and courts us with her killing rhetorick : But those arms were so full of nails, that had not the providence of God rescued us out of her imbraces, she would have exhausted our very heart blood, and killed us with a seeming kindness : This was like that sagacious *Hyaena*, which was to hunt out a prey for the hungry Lyons.

But perhaps this discourse is too general, to alienate and divorce your amorous thoughts, from this painted *Helena*. Many of you have so espoused her to your selves, that you count it all one to forsake the Covenant, as to break wedlock : Therefore I shall come closer yet and try whether 'tis possible to perswade you, that there is not that obliging power in the Covenant as you imagine. I shall put the tryal upon this plaine Sillogism.

No unlawful Oath is obligatory:

The Solemn League and Covenant was an unlawful Oath :

Therefore the Solemn League and Covenant is not obligatory.

Major prop. *No unlawful Oath can lay an obligation upon him that takes it.*

Jer. 44. 25. The Prophet sharply reproves those idolatrous votaries, which said, they would surely perform their vows, which they had vow'd, to burn incense to the Queen of Heaven. Whoever swears an assertory Oath, calls God to witness that what he sweares is true ; and by laying his

his hand upon the book before a Magistrate, doth imprecate upon himself the judgments of God in that book, & renounces any share in those promises that are involved therein, if he swears falsely. And in a promissory Oath, he must swear in righteousness and truth; otherwise his oath will be a bond of iniquity: He will swear to sin and so by consequence, sin in swearing, for he calls the God of righteousness to record upon his soul, that he will deal unrighteously.

De jure belli. l. 20, c. 13.

Jurata promissio: (says Grotius) When a man swears to do any thing unlawful in it self, by the Law of God, or man; such an oath is null, and without force. *Scelus est fides*, our fidelity in the performance of such a promise would be a double iniquity. Saint Austin wonders that any should nick-name this obstinacy in what is evil, with that excellent title of fidelity. *Si executio ejus quod est promissum, sit contra legem, vel publicam*

utilitatem, &c. If we fulfil a promise which is contrary to the Law, or publick welfare, *Juramentum promissioni adjectum non obligat*: That oath which confirms such a promise binds not at all: And the Casuist gives a good reason; because *Obligat Conscientia, non per se, sed ratione legis, quæ aliud præcipit vel prohibet*; Conscience binds not of it self, but by vertue of some affirmative, or negative Law. Therefore 'tis an infallible rule to me--

In malis promissis, when we promise any thing that is wicked, such a promise is not to be perform'd: But that the best way to make amends for such a promise is to break the Cockatrice in the shell; that is, to revoke it suddenly, before it takes effect, the sooner the better. David blessed God that he did not fulfil

Lessus de jura. l. 2. p. 618, 619.

Baldwin.

Sam. 25. his 31.

his rash vow against Nabal. And had those in the Acts who vow'd they would neither eat nor drink until they had slain Paul been as bad as their words, they had highly aggravated their offence : As Herod did, who standing so nicely upon his Oath, must have John the Baptist murder'd out of tenderness of Conscience : Whereas 'tis more then probable that this Tragical Scene was plotted aforehand by Herodias and himself : as the downfall of Bishops (to say no more) was by the Covenanters ; and then all must be mantled under the Religion of an oath, and trusted over with the integrity of keeping Covenant. Religion is the highest excellency of man, whilst it is sincere and undefiled, but when 'tis made a *Cloak* or stalking Horse only for blacker designs ; 'tis no better than a white-Devil : It is all one as to look towards Heaven and to row towards Hell ; to be *ἀγαθὸν διατάλ*, men that seem only to look after vertue, yet are in truth *κακὰς ἀγορεύοντες*, the very Champions of wickedness. Alas, such paint will quickly wear off ; and then a hagg face will appear the more ugly. As she in the Epigramatist, after drinking of wine perfum'd her breath, lest it should be found out ; yet when she belched she did but stink the worse :

Cl. Alex.
p. 41.

*Ne gravis besterno fragres Fescenia vino,
pastillos Cosmi luxuriosa voras.
Ista linunt dentes jentacula ; sed mihi obstat,
extremo ructus cum venit é Barathro.*

Casuits tell us, of some things which ought not to be done ; yet *facta valent*, there is no reversing

verſing of them, when once they are done : And I am much inclined, this rule holds in marriage: Though 'tis not lawful for a Chriſtian to marry a Heathen wife, yet once married he may not put her away, at his pleaſure; but this holds not in unlawful promiſſory vows, ſince the accompliſhment of them doth but accumulate the guilt. I can ſee but a paſſage or two in Scripture, which may ſeem to invalidate this truth.

First, That Covenant with the *Gibeonites* ſeems to be utterly unlawful: For God had commanded that they and all the *Cananites*, Joſh. 5. 19. ſhould be deſtroyed, yet contrary hereunto, *Joſhua* made and faithfully obſerved a Covenant with the *Gibeonites*: And afterwards *Saul* by breaking this Covenant in ſlaying thoſe *Gibeonites* brought a famine upon the whole Land, 2 Sam. 21. 2 and conſulted ſhame and confuſion to his whole Family. This inſtance is urged by ſome, to preſs the obſervation of the Solemn League and Covenant; but upon a ſtricter view, we ſhall diſcern a vaſt diſparity betwixt theſe two caſes.

10. The Covenant with the *Gibeonites* was made by *Joſhua* himſelf, as alſo by the *Princes of the Congregation*. Here was, as it were a compleat Aſſ of Parliament to warrant the ſame. But in our caſe *Joſhua* did utterly prohibit, and diſclaim any ſuch Covenant.

20. Though there was an error in the *Iſraelites* in making ſuch a ſudden compact with the *Gibeonites*

Gibeonites without asking counsel of God, being circumvented by the fraud of their old garments, mouldy bread, &c. Yet this Covenant was not unlawful in it self For though God had commanded that no peace should be made with the *Cananites*; yet it was but conditional, if they should stand upon their guards; not yield up their Lands; or not forsake their idolatry. But since these poor *Gibeonites* did submit their persons, estates and services to be dispos'd of by *Joshua*, for the use of the Sanctuary; forsaking their old idolatry: He might make a Covenant with them and they seem tacitely to be commended for what they did. *There was not a City that made peace with the Children of Israel, save the Hivites, the Inhabitants of Gibeon; for it was of the Lord to harden the hearts of the rest, that they came against Israel in Battel.* Therefore notwithstanding that command, *Rahab* and all her Fathers Family had their lives given them before. Afterwards *Solomon* permitted the *Hittites, Hivites, Perizites and Jebusites* to live quietly under his Reign, as *Grotius* observes. Though 'twas forbidden to take a wife of another Nation, yet if she forsook her idolatry and imbraced the faith she might be taken to wife.

Josh. 11.
19. 20.

Josh. 46.

1 Kings
9. 20.

See Suarez
de juramen-
to, p. 365

Deut. 20.
10, 11.

This is but according to the law of Arms, set down by God himself--that approaching any City, they should proclaim peace unto it, and if the people therein shall make an answer of peace, and open there Gates then they were to be made tributaries, but not to be destroyed. Thus the Lord had promised *Moses*, that he would give into his hands *Sehon* the *Amorite* the King of *Heshbon* and

and his Land : He commands him to arise and take possession of it ; yet *Moses* well knowing how to interpret Gods commands in the most merciful sence ; first sends Messengers of peace to *Sehon*, offering to him if he would permit him to pass quietly through his Country, he would not turn to the right hand, or the left to molest him : Therefore these *Gibeonites* humbly yielding themselves up to the hands of *Joshua*, he might lawfully make a Covenant with them : But from hence to argue the lawfulness of the Scottish-English-Covenant ; and that it ought not to be broken, is all one, as to conclude that *Herod* might not lawfully have broken his Oath concerning the beheading of *John the Baptist*, because it was not lawful for the *Rechabites* to break the vow which they had made to *Jonadab* their Father.

Deut. 2. 24.
26, 27.

Majus in
Joel. c. 9
27.

Jer. 3 9.

Judg. 11 :

20. Another instance of keeping unlawful vows, is that of *Jephtha* sacrificing his daughter, which was not lawful for him to do, Deut. 12. 31.

This is grounded upon a sandy foundation : For supposing this vow of *Jephtha* to be unlawful ; *Temerarium fuit, & prestari non debuit* ; it was a rash vow, and therefore ought not to have been perform'd, sayes the *Casnist* : He was no more to be imitated herein, than *David* was in the matter of *Uriah*.

Balwinus
p. 290.

But I find very learned men of another judgment. That *Jephtha* did not kill his Daughter ; but only devoted her to a private, or single life ; which was only a metaphorical sacrifice. There-

Manst.
rus, Grotius,
Perkins.
Cases of
Consci.
p. 53.

fore the daughters of Israel went yearly to lament the daughter of Jephtha, Judg. 11. 40. or as the word *lament* is noted to signifie *Judges* 15. 11. to confer with her; or to comfort her whereof she had not been capable, had she been slain. Hence it is that we read of her *bewailing of her Virginity*, in that she was not like to leave any issue behind her, which was a reproach in Israel: But we read not that she lost her life. Therefore *Jephthas* vow is understood by *Vatablus* and *Druſius*, to be conditional; that is, if that which first met him out of the dore of his house, were fit to be sacrificed: For had a dog met him; it was not to be sacrificed according to the Law: They read the words also disjunctively--whatsoever cometh out of the doors of my house, shall either be consecrated to the Lord, or else it shall be sacrificed to him; *Si molari possit*; if it be capable of falling a sacrifice unto the Lord. What is this now to the *Scottish* League and Covenant, either as to the entering into it at first, or being obliged by it? and this will better appear by the illegality of it, which is the

Minor prop. *But the Solemn League the Scottish-English-Covenant, was and is an unlawful Oath.*

I am loth to call it the *National Covenant*: I hope that is but an abusive speech which reflects too much disgrace upon the whole Nation: for suppose this denomination be taken from the greater; I am well assur'd it is not from the better part of the Nation — *pudet hac approbatione* — and as it was not Catholick in respect of persons

Omnes omnium Christianitates p. vna Com. sicut
ely-

persons ; so much less in the contents of it.

There have been so many invincible reasons given against this Covenant, by my dear Mother the *University of Oxon*, and also by many of my Fathers and Brethren ; that I am almost rapt up into an extasie of wonder, that any should appear in such a profligated and baffled cause ; unless they had dexterity enough, to ward off those blows, which will inevitably fall upon them. He that goes about to dispute against this Covenant, hath so many advantages at hand, that he may be puzzled *ex copia*, what to say first, but cannot be destitute of arguments to plead against it. 'Tis not my business to play the disputant, but to beseech you to climb over this Rock, into the Pulpit. Yet that I may prevail the better with your wils, I shall spend a word or two upon your understandings ; by shewing the unlawfulness of this Covenant in *matter* and *form*, in respect of the *efficient* and *final* cause : Though there's no need of all these terms ; for if the matter be not justifiable, neither can the end : We must not do evil that good may come on't. And if the efficient cause be not right and legitimate in a promissory oath, it is defective in that which is *ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς ἐνστάς*, the very formality of such oath, which is the Authority imposing it: Now that this was the case of the Covenant, he that runs may read it, if he can but read the capital letters of the Kings Proclamation, prohibiting all his subjects to enter into such a combination. If those that took it were *Subjects to our Prince*, as was acknowledged in the preface to the Covenant it self ;

yet how they did discharge that relation, or how they did shew their subjection in this particular, it is as easie to determine, as I am loth to expresse. Here is too large a field to expatiate in: It would argue too much resemblance to that poor insect, the impotent and angry flye, to insist long on this gauled place. I with my Brethren were as much ashamed of their own precipitancy herein; as I am to urge them with it, and to charge upon them those consequences which might follow naturally upon the commission of such a miscarriage; sure then they would be perswaded to cast forth this Hagar and dis-inherit this Ishmael.

I pray read over the thirtieth Chapter of *Numbers*, and you may find, that persons who are not *sui juris*, as Wives and Children, who were under the power of Hus bands and Fathers (and why not subjects who are under the power of Princes) might not make vowes and Covenants unless they were ratified by their Superiours. How can Subjects plead an exemption from this Law? We read of putting down idolatrous Priests, destroying the Groves, High places, Altars, the brazen Serpent; yet these things were done by the Kings command; never as I remember in a way of contradiction, or defiance to their Authority, as appears in the reigns of *Jesiah* and *Hezekiah*: When any thing was amiss in the Church in the primitive times, the Christians petitioned the Emperours to reform it; they did not (*in vitis regibus*) attempt that work, therefore the Kings in Scripture are every where blamed, and not the

1. Kings

23. 5.

2 Chron.

30.

the people in that the *High places* were not taken away. The forwardness of the people herein is but an unwarrantable and prepotterous zeal: Though the thing it self be good, that is to reform abuses in the Church, as it is good in it self to offer sacrifice, yet not in people that are under subjection; as it was not in *Saul* to offer Sacrifice without a calling. It is the Kings peculiar office to be *ὁ ὁ θεὸς τῶν θεῶν κριτὴς* (as *Aristotle*) the cheif disposer in matters of Religion: He is the *Common Bishop of the Church*, as *Constantine* is stiled by *Eusebius*. Private persons must defend religion, *Non occidendo, sed Moriendo*, not by killing others but dying themselves. It is altogether unlawful (sayes Bishop *Davenant*) for the people, *Renente Magistratu, Ecclesie Reformationem Moliri*, to go about to reform the Church, without the consent of the supreme Magistrate. This is a right so properly belonging to the King, that *Darius*, *Cyrus*, the King of *Nineve* were invested with it, *Jure gentium*, though they were Heathen Princes, sayes another professor of divinity out of the same chair.

Sam 3.
13.

Leam
Institu. 5.
c. 20.

Determ.
12.

Dx Ward.
P. 105.

I read indeed that the people entred into Covenant *Ezra. 10. 3.* but it was to put away their strange wives, which was according to Law in the same verse. What is this to our purpose? except you could produce unquestionable evidence of Scripture proof---That the Government of the Church by Bishops (which you have Covenanted against) is as unlawful as the having of strange wives.

*Lessius de
Justitia
& Jure
429. 430.
431. 551*

A little reading in Casuists and Schoolmen, will easily confirm this truth---that such oaths and Covenants, which are made against the consent of our Superiours, are not obligatory, *Si Res jurata sit illicita, superiore vetante, obligatio tollitur*——*Irritationem quoq; tollitur, quando materia juramenti promissorii subest alterius potestati. Hac igitur conditio ex natura rei, vel juris dispositione includitur promissioni, vel juramento promissioni opposito*—nisi superior, cui materia subest, contradicat.

Ibid. p. 542

Quicquid in nostra potestate non sit, sub votum non cadit, nec quod malum est.

*Aquinas
22. Q.
88. Art.
80.*

Nemo potest se firmiter obligare per promissionem, ad id quod est in potestate alterius, sed solum ad id quod est omnino in sua potestate. Quicumque autem est subiectus alicui, quantum ad id in quod est subiectus, non est sue potestatis facere quod vult; sed dependet ex potestate alterius, & ideo non potest se per votum firmiter obligare in his, in quibus a teri subijcitur, sine consensu sui superioris.

*Ibid. Q.
88. Art. 90*

Ad unumquemq; pertinet irritare juramentum quod a sibi subditis factum est, circa ea quæ ejus potestati subduntur.

*Disp. 6. Q.
7 de Juramento.*

Gregory de Valentia affirms the same—In multis casibus constat juramentum promissorium non obligare, scilicet de Re illicita: Nam ex eo quod juramentum præstatur homini, superiores, aut domini Rei promissa, possunt irritare juramentum. Non tenetur quis per media inutilia vel minus grata deo, procurare divinum honorem ad implendo juramentum. Our own Master Perkins doth but translate the sense of the Schoolmen into English—An oath sayes he, bindeth not if it be made concerning things which are not in our power; as

p. 55.

to swear to give away another mans goods: And was not this our case? did not you swear to take away the Rights of the Bishops? nay, the Rights of the King, whose prerogative and jurisdiction it is to reform the Church! and that after many of you had subscribed to the rights of the Episcopal government, both when ye took degrees in the University, and orders from the Bishops, and had also taken the oathes of Allegiance and Supremacy.

Can a subsequent oath, or Covenant so far bind us, as to make void the former? *Juramentum factum contra prius vetum; juramentum aut promissum (modo sit in re licita) non obligat.* Doctor Cracanthorpe was no ordinary divine in his time, yet he confirms this truth—*The Emperour* (sayes he) *swears at his Coronation to keep safe the Honours and Rights of his Kingdome; afterwarde he alienates them: and takes an oath that he will not revoke them. But since this latter oath was contrary to his imperial Oath at his Coronation, it binds not, being unlawful, and so cannot be vinculum iniquitatis: But notwithstanding such an oath, he may revoke his grant.*

Suarez l.
2. d. Jura.
p. 62.

Defence
of Con-
stantine c
8. p. 170.

Suppose a married man, or woman, after marriage should vow continency; this is more than was in his, or her power; therefore such a promise is not to be fulfill'd: *Hic enim quisq; recta, & firma devotione solus promittit, quod sui tantum juris esse cognoverit: Temerarie se vovisse cognoscat, & debitum conjugii casta sinceritate Redhibet.* Doth not this rule hold as true betwixt Subjects, who are bound by oathes unto their Princes, as betwixt an Huband and the Wife of his Covenant? Therefore why should not you

Fulgenci
p. 620. &
623.

return unto your first love? I mean in making good these former promises and engagements which you have made unto the Crown, and unto those that are commissioned by the supreme authority. Do you think that adventitious and contradictory vows of a later date (for the making of which you never had any sufficient authority to warrant you) will supplant and evacuate your former oaths? There was a lawful power prohibiting you to enter into such a combination at first; and there hath been since in declaring the Nullity of such a Covenant. Will you still look upon your selves (like that Ram which the Angel shew'd to *Abraham*) as caught in a thicket by the horns? whereas your fetters are rather imaginary than real. And herein you resemble some melancholy men, who have separated themselves from common society, fancying themselves to be Lepers: Others have been afraid to speak lest they should low like beasts, and to ease nature, by letting go their water, lest they should drown the whole Town wherein they dwelt; which conceit was cured by this stratagem---one cry'd fire! fire! Hereupon the melancholy person lets go his water that he might extinguish the fire, and was healed. Do not you hear the like outcry in our dwellings, by reason of our growing and wasting divisions at home and abroad? Sirs, let go the Covenant out of your clutches, and all will be well; and joyn your endeavours with us, in helping to put out this common conflagration: rectifie your erroneous conceits: cleer up your blood-shorten eyes: look upon the Covenant thorow the true optick glass of loyalty

Gen. 22.

3.

Burtons
Melan-
cholics.

alty and religion; and I dare say you will not account your selves bound by it, to endeavour the alteration of government in the Church. *Antoninus*
Αγε ν̄ ὑπολινψιν, ἥτοις ὁ Βασις If you were once *in vita*
 freed from the perturbations of your own heads, *Jul. 4to*
 the terrible bug-beares in your way would disappear and vanish. If this physick will not work, I shall give you the Casuists conclusion, as another pill to chew upon.—*Caput Melancholicum est diaboli balneum.* *Baldwin.*

Were there any obligation in the Covenant, we who never bound our souls with it (maugre all the anathema's and terors of those that impos'd it) have more cause then your selves, to complain of the severity of the Parliament in injoyning us to declare, that not only there is no obligation on our selves, but also making us your compurgatours: we must declare—*That no other person is obliged by that oath call'd the Solemn League and Covenant.* But instead of complaining and murmuring, we gratefully acknowledge the wisdom of our Governours, and their tenderneſs towards you: for fearing lest you should hinder our happy settlement upon the Kings return, hanging off from a compliance with our peace, upon pretence of the Covenant: They call'd in those that were free, to relieve those that thought themselves bound: those that stood upon firm ground, to lend an hand to those that floated upon the waters; that so by the interposition of our judgment, and charitable assistance, your supposed Gives and Fetters might (like untimely figs) fall from you, and you might look upon your selves, as free from any tye arising from the Covenant, that so we might

might all center, upon a legally establish'd foundation of peace and tranquillity. O when will it once be that we shall see the long expected fruit of this labour of love! When will ye know the things that belong to your own, ours, the Churches and the Kingdoms happiness? If the ship sink, we shall lye together in the bottom of the Sea, that could not agree upon the deck: Lets therefore commit our selves to our experienc'd Pilots, so we may arrive to the Haven where we would be.

Secondly, The Covenant is unlawful in respect of the matter— As for those things in it which concern a personal reformation of life and manners, in walking more *closely with*, and religiously *before God*: in avoiding profaneness and scandal, that so we might *walk worthy of Gods mercies and decline his judgments*, I have not a thought in my heart, much less a word in my tongue against the material part of it. I wish we were all such Covenanters, and that our Covenants in this respect were written in Marble and Adamant: like Gods Covenant of *Grace everlasting*, or that which he hath made with *Day and Night*: As *Job* made a Covenant with his eyes so 'twere well if we could make a Covenant with our hearts and wayes. Had this been all that had been aimed at, good men would not have been so scandalized at the Covenant: My hand would have trembled, & my pen would have fallen from betwixt my fingers, ere I had written any word to have impleaded it. May *Holiness to the Lord be written*, not only on our *Horse Bridles*, the *Phylacteries* of our Garments, but

but upon the door posts of our hearts, and the frontispeice of all our actions; yet were this the design of the Covenant, as good as it is; yet I utterly abhor the manner of its birth, or introduction into the world, which was altogether tumultuary and irregular. The reformed Religion professed among us, which is the very ornament of our Church and Nation, and the joy of our souls would loose much of its glorious lustre and verdure with me, had it been usher'd in with Axes and Hammers, clashing of Armour and roaring of Canons: Had it been establish'd by rebellion, and not by the decrees, and laws of reforming Princes, who call'd our Fathers out of *Babylon*, and led them out of spiritual *Egypt*. Kings (blessed be God, who put such a thing as this into their hearts) were the nursing Fathers of our Reformation: But alas, amendment of life was least of all intended in the Covenant. The limitation, or impairing of the Regal, and the total abolition of the Episcopal power, were the very white in the But. This was the letter and all the pretences of reformation, but as so much wanton embellishment flourishing round about it. This was the pill to be swallowed, all the rest but as sugar to wrap it up, which presently dissolv'd and left nothing behind, but the naked pill which was as so much ferment in the stomach, and occasioned a strange Timpany in the body politick: This was the practise of *Nestorius*; he inveigh'd bitterly against all other Heresies (who would have thought but he had been orthodox?) to make way for his own: And he made the greater havock of Christs flock; because those that were

*Vincent
lirinem c.
16. & 23.*

torn

ἄν' αὖ ἐχ-
 ὄρησ. ἄλλως
 πῶς βλά-
 ψεν, ἂν ἢ
 φίλ' αὖ.
 καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ
 Cle. Alex.
 Pro. 3. p:
 440.

torn a pieces by this wolf, still deem'd him to be a sheep. Just so this Covenant hangs out the white flag of Religion, seems to promote nothing but piety and purity; to batter down nothing but profaneness, and in the mean while it levels all its force against those Mountains which stand about our Jerusalem. Those Adversaries do the most mischief, which make the most shew of friendship and kindness.

10. The matter of an oath ought to be plain and obvious to our understanding; without obscurity and intricacy. I must know what I swear, otherwise I take Gods name in vain in swearing without judgment. Now in this oath there are many words of ambiguous signification: As *Common enemies, best reformed Churches* (without telling which they are) *Malignants, Doctrine and Discipline of the Church of Scotland, priviledges of Parliament*, which in those dayes were like the *Popes Traditions, Arbitrary and Inexhaustible*.

20. There are plaine contradictions in this oath: For those that have taken the oathes of Allegiance and Supremacy, and have therein sworn to defend the King and his Rights *Absolutely*; yet here they must mince the matter and vow to defend the King himself with a limitation -- *In the defence of Religion*: So that if he do not what they would have him do in matters of Religion, they have an evasion at hand: by vertue of their Covenant they may defeat him; if not dethrone him. So he must be a precarious

carious, not a glorious King, reigning at the placitum of his Subjects: nay, in their former oathes they swore to defend all the Kings Rights, whereof his jurisdiction in matters Ecclesiastical is not accounted the least; yet here they vow to reform Religion themselves and as it were snatch that Jewel out of their Sovereigns Crown. And as by this Covenant they violate their former oathes of Allegiance and Supremacy, so they would have the King too, like themselves, in violating his oath at his Coronation, when he swears to maintain Bishops and their Rights.

In this very Covenant they swear to maintain the liberties of Subjects; yet as if Bishops were not Subjects, they swear to root them up root and branch.

30. There are gross absurdities in the Covenant. The Parliament is plac'd before the King. The Church of *Scotland* before the Church of *England*. There is swearing to maintain the privileges of Parliament absolutely, but the King and his Rights with a limitation: As if a Parliament were infallible, not so the King; whereas to speak properly, the Parliament is no Parliament at all without the King; no more than the trunk of a mans body is a compleat body without his head.

40. The fourth Article of the Covenant is even unnatural, binding Children to betray their Parents to death, by bringing them to publick

tryals, If they are, or have been Malig-
nants.

50. What desperate Hypocrisie and prevari-
cation is there in the third Article? the world
must bear witness with the Covenanters Con-
sciences of their loyalty; that they have no thoughts
or intentions to diminish the Kings just power and
greatness. Just like Herod, that told the wife
men--they should bring him word, where Christ
was, and he would come and worship him: In
plain English that is, he would come and mur-
der him: *pretendit cultum, intendit cultrum*;
or as Absalom makes a flourish, that he would
pay his vows in Hebron, but the truth was; he
had a purpose to raise war against the King his
Father. So the same men that robb'd the King
of his legislative power, of the Militia, and
turn'd their swords against his very bosome,
would have the world bear witness to their loy-
alty--that they have no thought or intention to
diminish the Kings just power and greatness. They
would fain have the World as guilty in violating
the Ninth, as they themselves have been in
breaking the fifth Commandment.

2. Sam.
15. 7. 8.

60. But suppose the other Articles of the
Covenant were free from all exceptions, and
might pass for currant, without any allowance;
yet all the united skill of the Covenanters in
England and Scotland (were the very quintes-
sence of all their parts strain'd into the pericra-
nium of one Covenanting Achilles) can never
justifie the matter of the second Article, con-
cerning the extirpation of prelacy: for had the
houses

Houses of Parliament been full and compleat when they passed this ordinance, Yet what Authority had they to pull up and retrench the very fundamentals of Government, which was so firmly rivited by the Laws of the Land, confirm'd by *Magna Charta*, and so many Acts of Parliament. Can a subordinate or lesser power supersede, or make voyd the decrees of that power which is greater, even the supreme power of the Nation? *Who hath heard such a thing? Who hath seen such things?* It hath even pitied me to hear what fig-leav'd salvo's some have found for their Consciences in this case. As I told you of one, that said Parliament men were no Subjects; so others have told me—that they did not Covenant against Episcopacy, but against the Hierarchy: What an irrational subterfuge is this? What is the Hierarchy but an holy Government; and must this be rooted up? read the very next words of the Covenant and you will see what is understood by *prælacy*: that is, the Government by *Arch-Bishops and Bishops*. Yet the very same men that told me, they did not Covenant against Episcopacy, have refus'd to take the late Oath, why? because they will not swear—*Not to endeavour to alter the Government of the Church*: Have not these men *Renbens* curse upon them? in being as *Instable as water*; Jam. i. 8. or are not they of the number of those *διψοι*, *Double minded men who are unstable in all their wayes*. What will not men say, that have espoused a desperate cause.

Others say they have Covenanted against Bishops, 'tis true: But only in their *places* and *callings*

callings. Yet which of you can challenge it as a proper duty of your places and callings—*Mutare quadrata rotundis*, to turn the Government of Church and State topsy turvey: I joyn these together because I want spectacles to discern what differencethere is betwixt usurping upon the Kings power and subverting the Government of the Church in spite of his Authority. Wo be to the Kings Majesty, if you should *lift up your hands* again and fall a swearing. What security hath the King, but your vows may reach him as well as the Bishops; for if you account your selves in your places and callings when ye kick off the Mitre, it is but going a step farther and it may be your Tether may stretch so farre that you may hazzard the shaking of the Crown: If this be to act within the proper sphere of your *callings and places*: Then *Phaeton* was in his proper place, when he was tampering with his *Fathers* Charriot. And the waters were in their proper place when they overflowed the earth. Should I carry my self thus in my place and calling, I should much fear, lest I should be going to *Judas* his proper place; not as the text is sensed by the learned Doctor *Hammond*, but according to the fullest current of Interpreters.

Act. I. 25.
his row
row 15107.

Some say, they took the Covenant freely, and voluntarily, and how can they recal and recant such an act?

I am sorry to answer what the matter in hand compels me, *viz.* The more free and voluntary this Act was, the more sinful it was, and calls the lower for repentance.

Others say, how can the people beleave what we preach, if we should break the Covenant?

this

This quere borders upon the true reason (in my apprehension) why you will not declare against the Covenant, lest your credits and reputations should be impeached: As some of the more ingenuous *Papists* will acknowledge some things to be amiss in the Church of *Rome*, yet should they be amended -- the Hereticks (say they) would take advantage to open their mouths against the *Popes* infallibility; or, which is more pertinent to my present discourse, as it was with *Herod*, after he had sworn rashly concerning *John the Baptist*; yet for his oathes sake, and *them that sat with him at meat*, Mark that! (lest they perhaps should report him not to be Master of his word) right or wrong he commands the head of *John the Baptist* to be given to the daughter of *Herodias*. Mal. 3. 9.

CHAP. XVI

A Coronis, or seasonable Conclusion.

BEARE with me a little my Brethren, in suffering a word of exhortation, from the meanest of those that wait at the Altar.

Tractemus fabrilis fabri! let us preach the word in season and out of season: Divinity is our *Sparta*, the Province which we must study to adorn. As for politicks Government, affairs of State, these are out of our Diocess and beyond our last. Lets study to be quiet, to fear God and honour the King, and all those that are commissioned by him in Church and State. Let us beat down sin strenuously, reform our selves, Families, Parishes faithfully, pray for the reformation of what is amiss in the whole Nation constantly In two words lets *ὁρδοῦμεν, καὶ ὁρδομένην* preach well and live well, so we shall not be at leasure to spend our selves in notional and whiffing disputes—*Then shall our light break forth as the morning, and our health shall spring forth speedily.* But if instead of performing our ministerial duties conscionably, and humbly; we shall be so pragmatrical Eccentrical and magisterial, as to medel with things above us: by lying in lurking places, watching and laying ambuscadoes for the downfall of those for whom we ought to pray. If we think thus to run away with the pillars of the Ecclesiastical fabrick upon our shoulders, we shall
(like

Bishop
Auditors
his motto.

1sa. 58. 8.

like Sampson) be buried in the rubbish, and then what other Epitaph shall we deserve? but — Here lyes the posterity of Dathan, which perished in the gainsaying of Core, or what is said of Stigan-
dus.

Inquinat infernum spiritus, of a solum.

It looks like a studied peice of malice, if we should dry up our breasts, when poor souls lye starving and gasping for want of spiritual food. If we shall either throw away our Aar-
nical Bells, or which is all one, pull out their clappers, rather then we will awake and rouze up those that snort upon the very brink of hell. Is there any so angry with his own Nation, as Hypocrates was with the Persians, who re-
fused to give them physick, and to heal their maladies when they sent for him.

*Goodwinus
de practi-
libus in an-
num 1092.*

*Eutychius
partis prima*

But my brethren, I hope better things of you, and things accompanying peace and salva-
tion: May these things happen to the enemies of our Church and Nation ! But let Religion and loyalty be within our walls, peace and plenty within our pallaces Therefore what Jo-
sham said to the men of Sechem in Mount Geri-
zim—Hearken unto me, that God may hearken unto you. Gold is the best of Mettals, and 'tis also most ductile. If you are men of generous dispo-
sitions, and of a golden nature, you will be pliable to his advise that aims at nothing but yours, and the Churches happiness. I hope you are none of those, of whom Saint Bernard speaks
—*Nec suasionibus flectuntur, quis subversi,*
which words may be rendred by that sad sen-

Heb. 6. 9.

Judge 9.7.

*Ser in
Cant. 64.*

1 Sam 2:25

p.12.

tance given out again st those refractory Son^s of Eli — *they hearkned not to the voice of their Father, because the Lord would slay them.* Nor would I have you to be like that heretical Raven (as Prosper calls it) that went out of the Ark and was so immers'd with the carrion that floated upon the water, *ut ad Arcam Ecclesie redire noluit.* Many of you have now ease and rest more than enough — take heed that you do not say

— *Deus nobis hæc otia fecit.*

Jerom ad
Demetria.
dem.p.71.

Be not like Deere in purlew-Woods, which endure not afterwards to be coop'd up and confin'd within their own pale, until some *Nimrod* or other make a prey of them. *Morbida oves suum relinquunt gregem, & luporum faucibus devorantur.* When *Sheep* faint and lag behind their fellows, the next news is, they are seiz'd on by the *Wolf*.

Be not like those *Crows* in *Arabia*, which if they be empty and want what they would have to fill their Crows, they make a stridulous, ravenous and horrid noise. What though every pin in the Sanctuary doth not stand point-size as you would have it? must all *Europe* eccho with your bellowings? Or must the whole structure presently be demolished; will you presently run out of the *Garden inclos'd* never to return, though it be full of fragrant Flowers, living Fountains, and hath in it the tree of Life? because perhaps some particular herb or other is wanting for which you have some special kindness;

kindness, or grows there, with which your nostrils are not delighted? Must an unwarrantable Covenant hinder our cementing and soldering together? Will you stand so stiffly upon that rash word which is gone out of your lips? that rather than you will reverse it we must all go down together into the Chambers of death. Is ambition so immortal, that as *Jerome* notes, *inter lacrymas, luctusq; non cessat*: rather than men will seem to be indeed what they are, obnoxious to error and a peccant fallibility, they will go down into the lowest vault in the valley of *Bochim*, and chaunt forth the highest note to the tune of *Hadadrimon*.

You are not such strangers in our *Israel* as to be ignorant how the waters swell, the winds blow, the waves beat against the Ark of the Church, and the ship of the whole Kingdom, so that we may say, *Master! Master! we perish*: nay, to leave Allegories, and to speak the naked truth; you have heard the Alarm of War, you well know what confederacies and combinations there are abroad against our tranquility: *Geball*, *Ammon*, *Amaleck* are all bent upon our ruine. I wish you would also take notice, whence our foaming adversaries took the first rise of their incouragement; and then tell me (as *Elisha* said to *Gebazi*) *is this a time to receive Sheep and Oxen?* Is this a time for us to cavil one with another, when the flame is coming towards us all, and climbing up into our windows; or as *Absalom*

This was written in the time of the Dutch War.

2 King. 5.

20.

to

to *Hushai*, is this thy kindness to thy Friend? Is this your love to your Native Country? That you had rather——*Barbarus has segetes*: that the *Satyrs should dance here*; and forraigners inhabit our dwellings, than you will come short of your own wills; unfold your stubborn arms, to receive them that are ready to rush into them, rather than you will pay that tribute which is due to God and the King. What, must we dispute of trifles when *Hannibal is at the Gates*: Are we so besotted? *Non tam Accersere, quam urgere*, not so much to hasten, but Court our ruine?

Judges
4 23

Plutarch
in Aristides

And though I will not at this juncture of time turn upon you the mouth of your own text——*Curse ye Meroz, Curse ye bitterly the Inhabitants thereof because they came not to the help of the Lord against the mighty*; yet give me leave to expostulate with you in a portion of the same Scripture. *verse 17. Why did Gilead abide beyond Jordan? Why did Dan remain in Ships? Why did Asher continue on the Sea shore and abide in his breaches?* you come far short of *Aristides* and *Themistocles*: for though they had been enemies one to another ever since they went to school together; yet against a common enemy they desired to be reconciled one to another. *Pilate* and *Herod* (as bad as they were) were made friends when in danger of a third person, the King of the *Jews*. Do you think (like the *Sea Pye*) to rise by going against the Wind? or which is worse, to rise by the fall of your Brethren? to sprout up out of the ashes of the Church and Nation, must the publick suffer?
and

and do you think to flourish in your private capacities? you know the apologue. The members conspired against the belly, and were starved themselves. 'Tis impossible but private interests must sink when the publick falls τὸ πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν ἐνυγχῆν πάσας καὶ τὰς ἐν αὐτῇ συμφορὰς ἀναφέρει, When the Common-wealth thrives this is the way to prevent consumptions in particular Members. Have we not had experiences enough of the miseries of War, and the cursed fruits of resisting our superiours? to make one Church and Nation wise, for at least one Century of years.

*Diou. Cas-
sius p 83.*

Who would judge by your proceedings, but that the supreme Magistrate were a boundless Tyrant: who yet rules his people according to law; and is so merciful as to pardon all former failour, though many and great. Who would think but the Church were a severe stepmother? which hath dandled you on her knees and feeds her children with the *sincere milk of the word*, when they see how inveterate you are against them both. I have read of one *Azdashir*, who besieged *Alsamade* in the City *Masce*: The Kings own daughter beholding from the wall the Assailants Army, and being much inamour'd with the beauty of *Azdashir*: she writes in a paper, fastens it to an Arrow and shoots it into the enemies Camp: Wherein she signifies to *Azdashir* that she would betray the City to him, if he would marry her: He accepts the condition, and when he was master of the City, instead of marrying her, *Azdashir* asked

*Etichius
parte se-
cunda. p.
37^b*

her with what meat her Father fed her? She answered, with the best of the Milk, the Honey-comb and Marrow; *Azdashir* replied since thou hast so requited him, How shall I put any confidence in thee? May not the like questions be put to you? How have you been dealt withal under the Government of Kings? Like the Peasant in *France*, or the sponges in *Turky*, have you felt the shaving of *Selymus* his beard? or been subject to *Dioclesians* nod? *Whose Oxe*, or *whose Ass* was taken from him? And with what meat did your mother the Church feed you? Was it not the very kidnies of *Wheat*, *Butter* and *Honey*? And will you so requite her? As with *Gallio*, to stand as if you were careless, when she is labouring for life? *Is it nothing* O *all ye that pass by*? nay, it were to be wished, there were not some untoward, unhappy children which did *not help forward her affliction*. So the perfidiousness of the *Donatists* and *Manichees* in *Hippo*; were the cause that it was made a prey to the *Vandals*. But who will put any confidence in such undutiful and unkind Sons, who have lift up their heels against so tender a Father, so indulgent a Mother? I beseech you Sirs! Remember the womb wherein ye were born, and the paps that gave you suck. Remember from whence ye are fallen and repent, that our breaches may be once more made up, and we may see *England a quiet habitation*. Let us by our mutual love to each other, and by our joynt-labours in the Church, so endeavour to please the Lord, That he may make our very enemies, to *be at peace with us*, Let us discover Satans stratagem

Zac. i. 15.

Rev. 2. 5.

tagem (for the hand of this *Joab* is in all our quarrels) in busying men of parts and sobriety in by-matters, that he may divert them from following the *unum necessarium*. In keeping them disputing and scrambling about Ceremonies, *mint* and *Cummin*, that they may neglect the greater things of the Law, obedience to God and the King, and the edifying the church, in love. He dreads those battering Rams of his kingdom, sound-preaching, and regular praying, therefore (what possible he can) he obstructs these.

When *Pyrrhus* propos'd to himself to win *Rome*, *Sicily*, and *Carthage*; *Cyneas* asked him, what he would do at last? *Pyrrhus* said, be merry, *Cyneas* replied, so you may be already, if you would be contented with what you have.

I know you will say, could we settle that discipline we desire; and moddle the Church according to our platform, then we might be religious indeed. I must (like another *Cyneas*) tell you, if you would be contented with that liberty which is allow'd you already. You may be as religious as you will, or can, who hinders you? It is observ'd of Pigeons, that they are most fearful when they fare best: Let us not be like Doves in this, jealous and querulous, when we are by the *Waters of comfort*, in the midst of *Manna*.

Why should we then suspect *Popery*, and superstition? *Charity thinks no evil*. A strong suspicion, where there is no evident cause to
back

1 Kings
22.4.

back it, doth either proceed from, or argue guilt. Therefore (all surmises being laid aside) let every one of you endeavour to answer the sounding of my bowels towards you with the same eccho: I mean the same readiness and singleness of heart, as *Jehosaphat* did the King of *Israel* — *I am as thou art, my people as thy people, my Horses as thy Horses*. But alas I perceive, that all this while I have been beating the Aire, or labouring in vain, in perswading you to march in our ranks: for (I perceive) you are resolv'd to stop your ears against my counsel. 'Tis part of your vow (that is) your Covenant --- *Never to suffer your selves by what perswasion soever, to be withdrawn from that union*. Thus a Serpent never becomes a Dragon, until it hath devoured a Serpent. However, *Whether you will hear, or whether you will forbear* — *Liberavi animam meam*; I have discharg'd the office of a Brother, in warning you of your duty.

If in your cooler blood, and more serious thoughts, you see no cause to retract that resolution, I must refer the issue of this perswasive, to him that can perswade *Japhet* to dwell in the Tents of *Sem*, who can overpower the wills of men and stop *Saul* in his career to *Damascus*; who can make those that are most wilful, even by one glance of his eye, as the Charriots of *Aminsadab* --- *A willing people in the day of his power*. *Suadere hominis, persuadere Dei*. Paul may plant but God gives the increase: Therefore I must appeal to his throne by prayer. And God forbid

forbid that I should cease praying for you. Pray therefore I will in those words of that excellent Bishop of Winton.

Bishop
Bilson. p.
414.

The Lord make you mindful to keep the bond of peace, which he hath left you, and mindful to shew that lowliness of heart which he hath taught you; that you wax not so wise in your own conceits, as to despise all others besides your selves, and so resolute in your private persuasions, that you enforce your devices upon the Church of God, under the name of the Holy and Heavenly precepts. Even so O Lord, for Christ Jesus sake. Amen.

Qui errare me existimant, etiam atq; etiam que sunt dicta considerent, ne fortassis ipsi errent. Augustinus in coronide libri de bona perseverantia.

Si quid in hoc opere dixerim, quod placeat, non est indigentia mea, sed divinae sufficientia; Siquid vero forsan dixerim, ut nec sufficere possit, nec placere; non est sufficientia divina sed indigentia mea. Fulgentius ad Probam. p. 669.

Fidem nolle asserere, pæne id est quod; negare plerumq; mi'es ignavus, Regia Castra, somnolento Corpore depressus, oppugnantibus tradit, dum competentibus excubijs non defendit, Fulgent. p. 393 395.

In ijs rebus, de quibus nihil certi statuit Scriptura divina, mos populi Dei, vel Instituta majorum

jorum pro lege tenenda sunt, de quibus si disputare voluerimus, & ex aliorum consuetudine alios improbare, orietur interminata luctatio, quæ tempestate Contentionis, serenitatem charitatis obnubilat. Augustini Epist. 86. ad Casulanum. vid. etiam Epist. 118. ad Januarium.

In those things which are indifferent, we are more bound to follow the command of the Magistrate, than our own Conscience. *Weems* on the fifth Commandement.

It is not so much the tenderness of Conscience and weakness of braines, as the Iron sinews in mens necks, which makes them so clamorous and scrupolous. Causes of the decay of Christian Religion. *Pag. 331.*

No wise man mislikes reading of prayers, *Mr. Hildersham* on *Psf. 51. p. 810.*

In not maintaining the Laws Rulers ruine themselves *Dr. Manton* on *Jude v. 8.* and in the same Commentary he saith--there are but two lawful causes of separation from the Church. First, Persecution. Secondly, A general corruption of Doctrine.

FINIS.

6 JY 59

ERRATA.

Page 13. Line 26. For *as* Read *our*. P. 16. l. 12. blot out *so*.
P. 19. r. *one*. P. 18. l. 20. r. *ἐπὶ τὴν*. l. 27. r. *αὐτὸν*.
P. 20. r. *καὶ*. P. 21. r. *αὐτὸν*. P. 36. r.
Aecius. P. 41. r. *indicitur*. P. 46. r. *Marcion*. P. 57. r. *Dovenant*. P.
58. l. 10. r. *aiming*. P. 69. r. *deliquium*. P. 73. marg. r. *nimis*. P. 87.
l. 12. r. *drives*. P. 90. l. 25. r. *John* 17 l. 33. r. *feigning*. P. 107. l.
14. r. *instance*. P. 115. r. *assert*. P. 122. l. 16. r. *per*. P. 127. l. 13. r.
indicare. P. 130. l. 4. add *our*. l. 25. r. *lapp*. P. 132. r. *δὲ*. P.
138. l. 26. r. *Anthem*.

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